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SOME RECENT RESEARCH IN THE TEACHING OF LATIN

IT HAS always been my contention that a good Latin teacher is both "born and made." He should be endowed with more than average intelligence and he should make use of his God-given talents: first, to master the Latin language so that he can read, understand, and enjoy Latin literature; second, to steep himself in the history, political institutions, public and private life, education, architecture, religion, and philosophy of ancient Rome; third, to improve his methods of instruction continually by self-criticism, experimentation, and a thorough knowledge of the research going on in the field of Latin teaching. Now, if ever, we need alert teaching of Latin and the "smart" teacher cannot afford to neglect any of these essential activities.

Personally I am very hopeful for the future of the humanities in the post-war period if we who believe in them get busy and use the brains with which surely we are endowed. There is certainly a wonderful opportunity before us which we must not fail to grasp. However, we cannot sit back in our easy chairs and engage in "wishful thinking." We must, in my opinion, keep up with the current thought (lack of thought, some might call it) not only in the field of foreign languages but also in the larger field of educational philosophy which is emerging in these war days. Two admirable summaries of recent research in the teaching of Latin have been made by Professors Carr and Ullman. Carr covers the research carried on from the time of the Classical Investigation (1921–1924) until 1939, while Ullman discusses the research in

this field between 1940 and 1943. Since many teachers may not have access to these articles, I have attempted to point out what seem to me the most important developments in Latin teaching during the past fifteen years as reported by Carr and Ullman's résumés of research.

ENROLMENT

Many educators hostile to the study of Latin are fond of saying that the enrolment in Latin is steadily decreasing. As a matter of fact, it can safely be said, I think, judging from statistics gathered from all parts of the country, that there are more high-school students studying Latin than ever before and that more students study Latin than study any other foreign language. Unfortunately, in the great majority of high schools only two years of Latin are offered. In New York City both French and Spanish have many more students than Latin.2 It cannot be denied that, although there has been during the past forty years a steady increase in the number of students taking Latin, the percentage of high-school students taking Latin has declined. In other words, as the high school became less and less selective, fewer students in proportion to the total enrolment studied Latin.3 However, the situation is far from hopeless, and I see some "straws in the wind" which seem to indicate a return to Latin and other foreign languages.4

¹ Carr, W. L., Article on "Latin" in Encyclopedia of Educational Research 652-662: Macmillan Co. (1941); Ullman, B. L., "The Teaching of Latin," Review of Educational Research XIII (1943), 127-134.

³ Foster, E. M., "Enrolments this Fall: School and College," School Life XXIII (1937), 15 f.

² "Latin Registration at Washington, D. C.," Classical Journal XXXVI (1940), 52; "Enrolment in the Different Foreign Languages," *High Points* XXI (1939), 53; XXII (1940), 78; Holtz, W. L., "Language Statistics, Kansas High Schools, First Semester 1939–40," Classical Journal XXXVII (1941), 185–188; Bement, Newton S., "Foreign Language Curriculums and Course Enrolments in Michigan Accredited Secondary Schools," *Modern Language Journal* XXVI (1942), 329–337.

⁴ Cf. Willkie, Wendell, "Freedom and the Liberal Arts," American Scholar XII (Spring 1943), 135-142; Canby, H. S., "Crisis in Education," Saturday Review of Literature xxv (Oct. 17, 1942), 10; Pound, Roscoe, "The Humanities in an Absolutist World," CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXIX (1943), 1-14; Tavenner, Eugene, "Pass the Ammunition," CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXVIII (1943), 513-525.

EDUCATIONAL OR ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES

As Ullman points out, the objectives of Latin teaching have not greatly changed since the time of the Classical Investigation Report. However, several successful efforts have recently been made to show that Latin, when taught as it should be taught, can and does meet the broader educational objectives of the modern high school. Carr in his usual skilful manner outlines some very definite activities which the Latin teacher can use in bringing about in his students the objectives of general education as laid down by the Educational Policies Commission in the Purposes of Education in American Democracy (1938). According to this commission, American students should realize from their training in high school: first, Education for Self-Realization; second, Education for Human Relationship; third, Education for Economic Efficiency; fourth, Education for Civic Responsibility. Professor Carr shows very clearly that the study of Latin can make many important contributions toward the accomplishment of these aims. 5 Anschutz describes a very interesting piece of investigation carried on by many teachers of Latin in Michigan. These teachers rated "Self-Realization" first, "Human Relationship" second, and "Civic Responsibility" third. What is more important, there evolved in connection with this study a first-year Latin book differentiated for teaching two levels of ability within the same class, a plan for a Latin course for pupils who are not going to study the language for more than a year, and a study and evaluation of the teaching techniques used by Michigan Latin teachers."6 Vaughan has brought the matter of objectives out of the realm of theory by asking some 191 students just why they are studying Latin. According to these students the six most important reasons for studying Latin are: (1) value for English, (2) college entrance requirement, (3) help in studying other foreign languages, (4) parents' insistence, (5) teacher's or principal's advice, (6) liked the teacher. It is interesting to note that 49 per cent and 84 per cent of the fourth-year Latin students

⁵ Carr, Wilbert L., "Educational Objectives and the Teaching of Latin," Education LXII (1942), 476-478.

⁶ Anschutz, Irma, "We Evaluated Our Objectives," Classical Outlook xx (1942), 16 f.

gave respectively "I liked Latin" and "I liked the teacher" as reasons for studying Latin. Wittman and Kaulfers insist that, since only 7 per cent of the high-school Latin students who carry the subject for four years take any Latin in college, our objectives of Latin instruction in high school must meet the needs of those who do not continue Latin in college. I am not sure that the objectives of high-school and college Latin need be mutually exclusive. 8

William C. Bagley, the editor of School and Society and a wellknown educator, argues eloquently for the classics in war and postwar education. He says: "formal education from the outset has had as its first and continuing task the insurance of a meaningful mastery of symbols.... Obviously, the forms of stimulation that promote the meaningful mastery of symbols are of primary importance, hence the fundamental significance of languages and mathematics in formal education."9 It is universally agreed that the verbal-factor section of an intelligence test correlates most highly with the combined results of all single tests. Therefore, the improvement of English vocabulary should be considered the most important of the ultimate objectives of Latin teaching, and research in this field is to be encouraged. Several significant etymological analyses of English word lists have been made in the past two or three years. In a study made by Carr, Owen, and Schaeffer the 20,000 words in Thorndike's A Teachers' Word Book were analyzed, and it was found that 48.73 per cent were Latin, 10.22 per cent Greek, 32.26 per cent Germanic, .70 per cent Celtic, 1.88 per cent miscellaneous, 1.03 per cent imitative, and 5.18 per cent doubtful. As Carr points out, the percentage of Greek and Latin sources would have been higher if the language of literate adults had been examined rather than that of children and young people.¹⁰ Oldfather has made an interesting study in which he

⁷ Vaughan, Burtis F., "Why Students Continue the Study of Latin," Classical Outlook XVIII (1941), 37 f.

⁸ Wittmann, Vera E., and Kaulfers, Walter V., "Continuance in College of High-School Foreign Language," School Review XLVIII (1940), 606-611.

Bagley, William C., "Do the Classics Have a Place in Wartime Education," Classical Weekly xxxvi (1943), 146-149.

¹⁰ Carr, W. L., Owen, Eivion, and Schaeffer, Rudolph, "The Source of English Words," Classical Outlook xix (1942), 45 f.

shows by an examination of the authorized version of the Bible and of the works of Shakespeare that about 52 to 54 per cent of the words which have become obsolete in the past 300 years are Germanic and about 46 to 48 per cent are Latin or Greek in origin. On the other hand, an analysis of the new words which have come into English since 1800 shows that there are four times as many coming from Latin and Greek as from all other sources combined.11 White, in a review of articles in classical journals and of elementary Latin texts, found a very inadequate treatment of Latin prefixes. There seemed to be little or no unanimity in the treatment of this important subject. 12 Bell examined the English words introduced by nine elementary Latin texts in the first two weeks of study and found that the percentage of words occurring in Thorndike's Word Book varied from 40 to 80 per cent in these nine first-year Latin books. It would seem that the percentage of familiar Latin words should be much higher. 13 Latin expressions that have come over into English without change are an important element in English and should be used to a greater extent by Latin teachers. Kaulfers et al. have collected a list of Latin expressions in Latin and worked out exercises to accompany them. They propose that this list be offered to the student during his first week of Latin study, but, as Ullman points out, it would be much better to postpone it until later in the course after the student has come across many of the forms in his reading.14

The effect of the study of Latin upon the students' knowledge and usage of English has been measured in several studies. Boyer and Gordon found a decline in the knowledge of English vocabulary of students in Philadelphia high schools between 1928 and 1938. Two equated groups were measured—one group was study-

¹¹ Oldfather, W. A., "The Future of the English Vocabulary," Classical Outlook XIX (1942), 33 f.; "Increasing Importance of a Knowledge of Greek and Latin for the Understanding of English," The Kentucky State Journal XIX (1940), 37-41.

¹² White, Elizabeth, "Prefixes in the Teaching of Elementary Latin," Classical Weekly xxxv (1941), 51-53.

¹³ Bell, Dorothy, "What Related Words Shall We Use?" CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXV (1940), 372-375.

¹⁴ Kaulfers, Walter V., Lembi, Dante P., and McKibbon, William T., "Latin Expressions Found in English," CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXVIII (1942), 5-20.

ing fourth-year Latin and the other was not studying a foreign language. On an English vocabulary test the first group made a score of 57.4, the second one of 49.6.15 Dean and Wall made a study of tenth-grade pupils in Washington, D. C., who had studied Latin, French, or business for three years. Equating the pupils by I.O.'s, teachers' marks showed that the language pupils surpassed the business students in all other subjects, especially English.16 Wagner, by a specially made test in English (which was not entirely objective) given to sixty-two ninth-grade and forty-four tenth-grade pupils, found that the Latin students were superior to the non-Latin students in vocabulary, spelling, and grammar.¹⁷ Parounagian tested 319 second-term pupils in Portland, Oregon on 100 English words of Latin derivation. The I.O.'s of the two groups were matched and the Latin group made an average score of seventy-nine while the non-Latin group made a score of fortyeight. The highest score made by the non-Latin group was eighty-three, and eighty-one Latin pupils made a higher score than this. 18 In another study of grades in English, Darbie found that of 251 tenth-year pupils between 1932 and 1939 the group which had studied Latin averaged five to eight points higher in English than did the group which had not studied Latin. 19 In a re-examination of some of the data gathered by Thorndike and Ruger at the time of the Classical Investigation (Cf. Thorndike, E. L., and Ruger, G. J., "The Effect of First-Year Latin upon a Knowledge of English Words of Latin Derivation," School and Society XVIII [1923], 260-270, 417 f.) by means of tests given to 8000 ninth-grade pupils in fifty-nine different schools, Carr found that the "average of correct responses to these twenty-five Latin-derived words is 64 per cent for Latin pupils and 22 per cent for non-Latin pupils, an average

¹⁵ Boyer, Philip A., and Gordon, Hans C., "Have High Schools Neglected Academic Achievement?" School and Society XLIX (1939), 810-812.

¹⁶ Dean, Mildred, and Wall, Bernice, "The Value of Foreign-Language Study for Tenth-Grade Pupils," School and Society LI (1940), 717-720.

¹⁷ Wagner, William T., "A Comparative Achievement Test," Classical Outlook xvIII (1941), 68 f.

¹⁸ Parounagian, Mary N., "The Portland Derivatives Test," Classical Outlook XIX (1942). 54 f.

¹⁹ Darbie, J. H. M., "A Study of the Value of Latin to English," Delaware School Journal xv (1939), 21 f.

advantage of almost two to one, or a difference of 42 points on a 100 point scale, whereas the difference in favor of the Latin pupils on non-Latin words is only 11 on a 100 point scale (45-34)."20 Carroll is of the opinion that the teaching of Latin derivatives in Latin classes does not enlarge the students' English unless specific attention is paid to the derivation of words unfamiliar to the students. He gave tests to non-Latin college students and to students who had studied Latin in various schools.21 In a vocabulary test administered to a random sample of 208 pupils from grades 9B to 12A who were paired on the basis of intelligence, sex, age, semesters in school, and school achievement, Pond found "little, if any, difference in vocabulary knowledge on the part of Latin and non-Latin students. While under experimental conditions a knowledge of English vocabulary may possibly be transferred to the pupil when Latin is used as a vehicle, it is probable that in the ordinary teaching situation little if any transfer occurs."22 Douglass and Kittelson, in an effort to determine whether Latin pupils, as they are taught in the typical secondary school of today, are significantly superior to non-Latin pupils of equal mental ability in English vocabulary, spelling, and grammar, examined 112 pairs of pupils who had had two years of Latin and no Latin, and 29 trios of pupils who had had three or four years of Latin, two years of Latin, and no Latin. It was found that pupils who have had two years of Latin are only slightly better than those with no Latin, but those who have had more than two years of Latin do materially better on objective tests in English vocabulary, spelling, and grammar.23

We are urged by educators to correlate the various subjects of the curriculum, and Lawler gives some techniques which have been useful in correlating Latin with art, business courses, English,

²⁰ Carr, W. L., "By Their Fruits," CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXVII (1942), 334-350.

²¹ Carroll, J. B., "Knowledge of English Roots and Affixes as Related to Vocabulary and Latin Study," Journal of Educational Research (1940), 107-111.

²² Pond, F. L., "Influence of the Study of Latin on Word Knowledge," School Review XLVI (1938), 611-618.

²³ Douglass, H. R., and Kittleson, Clifford, "The Transfer of Training in High School Latin to English Grammar, Spelling, and Vocabulary," Journal of Experimental Education IV (1935), 26-33.

home economics, hygiene and health, journalism, manual arts, mathematics, modern languages, music, physical education, science, social sciences, and speech and dramatics.²⁴ One of the most important and difficult school-room problems in the teaching of Latin is the successful handling of collateral reading. Burton gives the best procedure for teaching background by wise use of the library that has come to my notice.²⁵ Much has been written in recent years about the core curriculum by so-called progressive educators. Ullman suggests that foreign languages might well be the core of a good curriculum because certainly a good foreign-language teacher must also be a good social-science and English teacher.²⁶ It is to be hoped that his challenge may be accepted by some experimentally-minded school.

TRANSFER OF TRAINING

There have been several studies made as to the relation between success in Latin and success in other school subjects. Morton-Finney has found from the examination of two groups of pupils studying French and Spanish that the ex-Latin students won higher grades in French and Spanish than did the non-Latin students.²⁷ However, one cannot be too dogmatic in any discussion of transfer of training. Sorenson from a study of records at Northwestern University found a positive correlation between the number of units of high-school Latin and marks received during the first three semesters of college work.²⁸ On the other hand, 1431 women and 1182 men entering Northwestern University were examined by Clark as to the amount of high-school Latin as well as other languages presented on entrance, and it was found that those

²⁴ Lawler, Lillian B., "Correlation of Latin with Other Subjects," *Education LXII* (1942), 479-485.

²⁵ Burton, Pauline E., "Acquisition of Background Through the Integration of Latin Instruction with School and Public Libraries," *Education LXII* (1942), 486–491.

²⁶ Ullman, B. L., "The Languages in General Education," School and Society LIII (May 10, 1941), 585-591.

²⁷ Morton-Finney, Pauline, "Latin, a Basis for French and Spanish Study as Evidenced by Teachers' Marks," Modern Language Journal xxv (1941), 873-880.

²⁸ Sorenson, Herbert, "High-School Subjects as Conditioners of College Success: Implications and Theories Concerning Mental Factors and Faculties," *Journal of Educational Research* xix (1929), 237–254.

having the most Latin tended very definitely to have, on the average, the highest grades. His conclusions are: "(1) The amount of Latin taken in high school is the only language [criterion] which shows any traceable relationship with the quality of college work done during the first year. (2) In this group, at least, a knowledge of the amount of high-school Latin taken is of little value for forecasting college success." Whelden has examined the records of students at Yale University (exclusive of Freshmen) from 1926 to 1930 and has come to the following conclusions:

A differentiated training in Latin, provided the training was acquired in private preparatory schools or after entering Yale College, would help a man to do work of better quality, as measured in terms of grades received, in certain specialized courses, such as French composition and the History of the Middle Ages, wherever the subject-matter of such courses was directly tied to the knowledge gained in a study of Latin, and would help a man to do work of better quality in a relatively intensive study of the field of English with the possibility that it might help a man to better work in a few other fields where the background of knowledge gained in the study of Latin could serve rather directly as a source of information on the subject matter of these fields.

He also pointed out that "there was no evidence at all of any value in a more extended study of Latin as an intellectual discipline serving to extend the scope of intellectual capacity in whatever field it might be applied." The records of 1025 men and women who entered the College of Science, Literature, and Arts of the University of Minnesota in the autumn of 1933 were studied by Smith and Douglass. The students were classified as to the amount of foreign language they had taken. These investigators concluded that "apparently students who study Latin in high schools may be expected to make, on the average, slightly higher marks in their first year at an arts college than pupils of equal ability who have studied German or who have studied no foreign language. In addition the Latin students can make higher marks while carrying a slightly heavier program of work." In a very interesting study

²⁰ Clark, E. L., "Amount of High-School Latin as an Indicator of Success in College Work," School and Society XXXV (1932), 189 f.

³⁰ Whelden, C. H., Jr., "Training in Latin and the Quality of Other Academic Work," Journal of Educational Psychology xxiv (1933), 481-497.

³¹ Smith, Mary E., and Douglass, H. R., "The Relation of High-School Latin to Marks in the First Year of Arts College," School Review XLV (1937), 695-701.

Kriner showed quite convincingly and objectively that the best evidence that a student will become a successful high-school teacher is the fact that he has taken two years of Latin in high school.³² King in an examination of the performance of the 148 teachers of Latin who took the 1940 National Teachers Examinations discovered some significant facts. The Latin candidates were not only better acquainted with their own subject matter (median for Latin teachers 73, for German teachers 70, for French teachers 69, for mathematics teachers 68) but their median score on the common examination (English, reasoning, general culture, professional information, and contemporary affairs) was 66 as against 62 for the whole group. The Latin group was outstanding in English expression and literature and English comprehension, surpassing even the English group in these tests. Latin teachers are evidently a superior group and they should do superior teaching. King's suggestion that administrators would do well to hire Latin teachers who can teach other subjects rather than teachers of other subjects who might teach Latin is a good one. It would be well for those who train prospective Latin teachers to call this fact to the attention of university appointment bureaus and teachers agencies.33

STUDIES IN CONTENT

It will come as a surprise to many Latin teachers, as it did to me, to learn that Caesar's Gallic War was not read to any great extent in the preparatory schools of the United States until the middle of the nineteenth century. As Owen shows by documentary evidence, Caesar's Gallic War was not read in the schools of colonial America.³⁴ As Carr points out, the content of the modern high-school course has been shaped largely by the influence of the College Entrance Examination Board. Its action in 1926 in abolish-

³² Kriner, H. L., "Pre-Training Factors Predictive of Teacher Success," *Penn State Studies in Education*, *No. 1*, School of Education, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. (1931).

³² King, Harold V., "The Performance of the Latin Group in the 1940 National Teacher Examination," CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXVI (1941), 357-361.

²⁴ Owen, Eivion, "Caesar in American Schools Prior to 1860," Classical Journal XXXI (1936), 212-222.

ing prescriptions either in the amount or kind of Latin to be read has encouraged some recent experimentation in the content of vocabulary, inflections, and syntax. Recognizing that the vocabulary density and burden of most elementary Latin readers are very high, Carr and Hutchinson have recommended the use of a large amount of easy Latin with low vocabulary burden and density.35 Carr in two studies on vocabulary density found that the vocabulary density of Caesar was 1:10 and the vocabulary burden 1:14, the vocabulary density of Cicero was 1:9 and the burden 1:12, the vocabulary density of Vergil was 1:8 and the burden 1:10.6. Nutting's Ad Alpes had a vocabulary density of 1:16 and a burden of 1:24. Of the ten authors commonly read by Freshman Latin students in college the vocabulary density range was from 1:3.47 to 1:5.92 and the burden from 1:6.38 to 1:12.90. He found that of the ten selections analyzed the five with the lowest vocabulary burden were in order Cicero's Letters (a book of selections) Cicero's De Amicitia, Plautus' Menaechmi, Terence's Phormio, and Cicero's De Senectute.36

It is felt by many that Lodge's vocabulary list should be supplemented by a list based on a wider range of authors. Diederich examined three standard anthologies—The Oxford Book of Latin Verse, Avery's Latin Prose Literature, and Beeson's Primer of Medieval Latin. He counted 202,158 words from more than 200 authors and from this count derived "an alphabetical list of 3800 different words which occurred five times or more in the literature examined and which accounted for 96.4 per cent of the words in the three anthologies." White has sampled 2,000,000 running words of Latin by counting every fifth line and covering forty authors. I have not examined his study. Heller examined the

³⁵ Carr, W. L., "Vocabulary Density in High-School Latin," Classical Journal XXIX (1934), 323-334; and Hutchinson, Mark E., "The Reading Method—Is it Practicable in Latin," Classical Journal XXXI (1936), 289-302.

²⁶ Carr, W. L., "Vocabulary Density in High-School Latin," loc. cit.; "More About Vocabulary Burden," Classical Outlook xvi (1939), 77-79.

³⁷ Diederich, Paul Bernard, *The Frequency of Latin Words and Their Endings*, a Ph.D. thesis presented to the faculty of Columbia University: Chicago, Illinois, Univ. of Chicago Press (1939).

²⁸ White, Ernest Floyd, A Frequency Latin Word List, a Master's thesis, Bethlehem, Pa., Lehigh University (1937).

Eaton list of 739 English words, based on Thorndike's first 1000 words, and the French equivalents which Eaton gives, and has added the corresponding Latin meanings.³⁹ Ryan has made a useful list of English-Latin proper nouns for classroom use. She selected the most frequent proper nouns from the Thorndike list and gave the Latin derivatives of these names.⁴⁰

There have been several interesting studies made on the frequency of constructions and inflectional endings. In Diederich's study, already mentioned (cf. footnote 37), he selected a thousand running words from the classical authors of prose and verse and classified them according to their endings. He found the following classes of endings to occur in the following proportions: 18 "common" endings 66.5 per cent, indeclinables (uninflected words) 25.4 per cent, "rare" endings 6.8 per cent, 24 irregular pronoun forms 2.6 per cent, all other endings .7 per cent. Diederich cannot see why students are overwhelmed with such a multitude of forms in many first-year books (2800 in one book examined) when so few endings are used to any great extent in the Latin read. In a study on the uses of the subjunctive in three passages taken from Caesar, Cicero, and Vergil, each containing 10,000 running words. Carr found that in the case of dependent clauses of non fact four constructions accounted for the majority of the uses of the subjunctive—they were in order of rank, substantive volitive, purpose, past-future, and contrary-to-fact condition. The three most important subjunctive uses in dependent clauses of fact were the indirect question, the consecutive clause, and the cum clause.41 In another study Carr examined the uses of the accusative and ablative cases in three passages of 10,000 running words each from Caesar, Cicero, and Vergil. For the accusative he found 23 per cent were found in prepositional phrases, 58 per cent direct objects, 14 per cent as subjects of infinitives, and the remaining 4 per cent he classified roughly as "adverbial" in use. For the ablative he found

³⁹ Heller, John L., "An English-French-Latin Word List for Familiar Concepts," CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXV (1940), 209-229, 326-347.

⁴⁰ Ryan, Ruth C., "A List of English-Latin Proper Nouns for Classroom Use," CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXVI (1941), 242-246.

⁴¹ Carr, W. L., "How Much Mood Syntax?" Classical Outlook xvIII (1941), 77 f.

that 39 per cent were used in prepositional phrases, 9 per cent as ablatives absolute, 1 per cent in descriptive phrases, and the remaining 51 per cent in a variety of "adverbial" uses, including means (21 per cent) and time (3 per cent). 42 Strain, from his studies on the frequency of Latin inflectional endings, which covered 25,546 words from six classical authors (Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, Ovid, Livy, Nepos) makes some interesting proposals for teaching. Some of his more important proposals are: (1) Early introduction of forms of high frequency and continuous drill on them; (2) omission of certain forms of very rare occurrence; (3) cases to be taught in the following order: nominative, accusative, ablative, dative, genitive; (4) materials to be prepared to teach verb forms by a system built around the third person instead of around the first person; (5) all conjugations to be taught simultaneously. He showed that twelve verb forms accounted for 70 per cent of the verb forms examined. They are: the third person, active, singular and plural of the present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect indicative tenses, the present infinitive, active and passive, and the present and perfect participles.48

STUDIES IN METHODS OF TEACHING

As Carr points out, it is generally agreed that the chief immediate objective in the study of Latin is to learn to read and understand Latin. However, there is no general agreement as how best to bring this objective about. Futch made photographic records of the eye movements of 27 ninth-grade Latin students in the reading of paragraphs from a simple Latin story and of English translations of passages from the same story. The data presented in this study show that photographic eye-movement records of the reading of Latin exhibit a high degree of reliability. No significant relationship was found between eye movements in the reading of Latin and comprehension of Latin. She concluded that general intelligence is more closely correlated with comprehension of

⁴² Carr, W. L., "How Much Case Syntax?" Classical Outlook XV (1938), 49 f.

⁴⁸ Strain, William H., "A Frequency Study of Latin Inflections," *Education LIX* (1938), 206–212; "Proposals for More Efficient Teaching of Latin Inflections," CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXV (1940), 257–275.

Latin than with eye movements in the reading of Latin. Possibly the difference in training given in the three schools from which the pupils came might have had something to do with the results.44 It is questioned by some whether the writing of Latin is a necessary part in the training of students to comprehend Latin. Teachers of Latin in ten high schools in Iowa, Illinois, and Kentucky were asked by Hutchinson to report the time spent on preparation of Latin to English by 633 students and on English to Latin by 453 students. The students were in every semester of Latin study. It was found that the students averaged 176 minutes a week on Latin to English and 77 minutes on English to Latin. Four to five days a week were devoted to Latin to English and two days for the first two years and about one day a week for the third and fourth years to English to Latin.45 Carr has pleaded for experimentation to see just how valuable the writing of Latin is for the comprehension of Latin. He reports an experiment carried on with 64 graduate students of Latin at Columbia University during the summer session of 1931 in which it was found that the correlation between scores in comprehension of Latin and translation of English into Latin was .35 while the correlation between comprehension and recognition of grammatical forms was .65.46 While there has been considerable argument between the followers of the traditional formal methods of instruction and those emphasizing functional or reading methods, there have been scarcely any objective data offered by either side. Wrightstone recorded the scores made by 125 equated pairs of pupils on the Co-operative Latin Tests (Form 1933) in two groups of schools, one employing formal, traditional methods of instruction and the other employing func-

⁴⁴ Futch, Olivia, "The Reliability and Validity of Photographic Eye-Movement Records in the Reading of Latin," *Journal of Educational Psychology* xxv (1934), 620-633.

⁴⁶ Hutchinson, Mark E., "Relative Time Given by High-School Students to 'English into Latin' and 'Latin into English'," School and Society XXXVII (1933), 335 f.

⁴⁶ Carr, W. L., "Reading Latin and Writing Latin," Classical Weekly XXVIII (1935), 129-133; see also Hutchinson, Mark E., "The Writing of Latin in the First Two Years of High-School Latin," Latin Notes XII (May, 1935), 2 f.; for arguments in favor of the writing of Latin cf. "Comments on Professor Carr's Paper," by Professors Ernest Reiss and Grace H. Goodale, Classical Weekly XXVIII (1935), 133-136.

tional or reading methods. He reported that the pupils taught by the reading method made better scores in comprehension than those taught by the grammar method; that there was no significant difference between the two groups in vocabulary achievement; that the pupils taught by the grammar method got the better scores in formal grammar; and that there was a much higher relationship between reading and vocabulary than between reading and grammar. As was to be expected, the students tended to show their best achievement in those objectives of instruction which had been emphasized by the schools which they attend.⁴⁷ I maintain, as I maintained ten years ago, that Latin methodology will not get very far until it stops arguing and begins experimenting. At that time I listed thirteen problems in Latin teaching concerning which I considered there was need for research.48 There has been very little done since that time in seriously attacking these problems. In concluding his résumé of research in Latin teaching Carr lays down seven important problems which should be solved. They are: (1) How much writing of Latin and how much oral use of Latin are needed to give the pupil power to read and understand Latin? (2) How much does a recall knowledge of words and forms contribute to a recognition of these words and forms in context? (3) How much does the objective presentation of words aid the pupil in his ability to recognize the words in his reading? (4) How much does the oral reading of a Latin passage contribute to the silent reading and comprehension of the passage? (5) How much does the functional (or reading) approach excel the formal (or grammatical) approach in teaching pupils to read and understand Latin? (6) How much does the ability to classify mood and case constructions according to the usual categories aid the students' ability to read Latin? (7) How much do textbooks since 1930 excel books in use in 1921-1923 in contributing to students' ability (a) to understand Latin derivatives in English, (b) to under-

⁴⁷ Wrightstone, J. W., "Appraisal of Newer Practices in Latin Teaching," School and Society XLII (1935), 302-304; "Measuring Diverse Objectives and Achievements in Latin Teaching, Classical Journal XXXIV (1938), 155-165.

⁴⁸ Hutchinson, Mark E., "Some Needed Research in the Teaching of Latin." CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXIX (1934), 335-356.

stand references to mythology, traditions and history of Greek and Romans, (c) to read Latin in the Latin order?⁴⁹

MEASUREMENTS IN LATIN

Very little progress has been made in the field of Latin measurements during the past few years. The best work has been done by the Co-operative Test Service. The 1942 forms of these tests introduced a section on "civilization" which is a move in the right direction. Mention should be made of the recent revolutionary action by the College Entrance Examination Board in scrapping all previous Latin tests and using only an objective test in the reading and comprehension of Latin. This action in my opinion has long been due and is a decided forward step. It should have far-reaching effects on the teaching of Latin. Gwynn in a survey of standard tests in Latin grouped them under (1) general survey tests, (2) special achievement tests, (3) diagnostic tests, and (4) prognostic tests. Each of the service of the s

COLLEGE LATIN

In a survey of college catalogues Snowden discovered that a number of colleges are offering courses which aim to strengthen the students' vocabulary by a study of the Latin and Greek element in English. He cites a study of Professor Johnson O'Connor's in which the investigator found that the vocabularies of 20,000 people from all walks of life in fifty per cent of the cases did not include the meanings of such words as rectitude, ameliorate, candor, chaste, while 99 per cent were unacquainted with words such as enervate, ingenuous, tenuous, etc. It seems fairly evident that this lack in vocabulary knowledge provides a challenge to the teachers of classics. ⁵³ Caskey visited a number of colleges, including

⁴⁹ Carr, W. L., Encyclopedia of Educational Research, loc. cit., 660.

⁵⁰ King, Harold V., and Spaulding, Geraldine, Co-operative Latin Test—Higher Level and Lower Level, Form S: Co-operative Test Service, 15 Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. V.

⁵¹ College Entrance Examination Board News Bulletin, Sept. 1943: College Entrance Examination Board, 425 W. 117 St., New York, N. Y.

⁵² Gwynn, J. Minor, "Standard Tests in Latin—Types and Trends," Classical Outlook xvii (1940), 46 f.

Snowden, Frank M., Jr., "The Role of the Classicist in Vocabulary Building," CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXVIII (1942), 307-310.

St. John's, Princeton, Columbia, Yale, Brown, Harvard, Wellesley, Dartmouth, Williams, and Buffalo, where he examined the method and materials in the courses in Classical Literature in Translation and those in Greek and Roman Civilization. There is a decided trend throughout the country toward courses of such a nature and good teaching techniques for such courses are evolving. As Ullman says, "Whatever they (college students) learn about and from antiquity comes chiefly through the two years of high-school Latin study, which is supplemented to some extent by courses in ancient history in high school and college." He points out some attempts which are being made by various colleges and universities to fill this vacuum in the average undergraduate's knowledge.

Several years ago the American Classical League set up a committee on Research in the Teaching of Latin of which the author of this article was chairman.⁵⁶ Owing to my illness most of the research projects then started have had to be abandoned. However, it seems to me that in these days of change in education it is advisable and almost imperative that this enterprise be started again. I hope that the American Classical League or some other organization may get behind such an undertaking and, if possible, supply funds for its necessary activities.

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⁵⁴ Caskey, John L., "The Classics in Translation and the Liberal Arts," CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXVI (1940), 92-100.

⁵⁵ Ullman, B. L., "Classical Culture in the College Curriculum," Journal of Higher Education XI (1941), 189-192.

⁸⁰ Hutchinson, Mark E., "Experimentation in the Teaching of Latin," *Education* LVII (1937), 492–495; "Some Suggestions to Latin Teachers Interested in Solving Their Teaching Problems," *Latin Notes* XIII (Dec., 1935), 2 f.

POSTER POLITICS IN ANCIENT ROME AND IN LATER ITALY*

THE casual visitor to Italy before the war was struck, as he will doubtless continue to be after the war, by the display of posters upon Italian walls. Not on great billboards, but on church, house, or villa along stately boulevards, as for instance upon the street wall of the Villa Wolkonsky, which in 1938 housed the German Embassy on the Via Statilia, a wide and dignified thoroughfare that stretches from the Via Emanuele Filberto to the Piazza di Porta Maggiore. Posters announced in detail the next opera or a performance of Santa Cecilia's orchestra; they proclaimed personal events in the royal household; they publicized manifestos and directions for individual or mass action in the name of Re, Duce, or Prefetto (or, not infrequently, Rex, Dux, Praefectus Urbi, whereby Latin became a living language).

Obviously posters were considered to be as effective for domestic, imperial, and general political publicity as are handbills, press, or radio; certainly they are more picturesque and colorful. In the spring of 1927, when Dipinedo was startling the world by air, until a youngster named Lindbergh suddenly switched amazement overnight to *Le Bourget* and Paris, the walls of Rome were emblazoned with posters in the Italian colors in a series, red, white, and green—entertaining, instructing, moralizing (how like the Romans!), for him who ran, or trammed, to read. Rhythmically they flowed, relating Di-pi-ne-do to Da Vinci, Le-o-nar-do, while beneath a great Roman eagle, metamorphosed into a biplane, was the thrilling caption:

Every bambino contains the germ of a Leonardo!

The antiquarian, aware of the ancient Roman tendency to publicize similarly, though on more durable materials, finds a long

^{*} This paper in its original form was read at a meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1939. It was revised for the CLASSICAL JOURNAL in 1941, but publication has been unavoidably delayed. With only a few verbal changes, it is now being published as of 1941. Ed.

pedigree for these survivals. Consider, for instance, a record of the Decree of the Senate concerning the Bacchanalia, which was enacted in 186 B.C. (two years before the death of Plautus), and was circulated throughout Italy on tablets of bronze. A copy of the decree embodied in a consular edict¹ was discovered at Tiriolo in Bruttii in 1640—in agro Teurano, as the bronze itself reads.

The importance of this single document today, more than two thousand years after it was inscribed, is manifold. As one of the oldest pieces of continuous Latin writing extant, preserving in its conservative, legalistic style archaic forms of a still earlier period, it is a mine for the philologist, though no longer set up "where it may be most easily read," ubei facilumed gnoscier potisit.

It presents also an interesting coincidence between archaeology and literature, because the decree is recorded in essence by Livy2 in a detailed account, almost as brazen as the bronze itself, of the conditions leading up to it and of the circumstances attendant upon it. Livy reveals the gross immorality, intrigue, and actual crime that were possible under cover of orgiastic "worship" as it came into Rome from the Orient or from Hellenistic Greece and was manipulated at times by various unprincipled elements among the votaries. In such gatherings promiscuous debauchery among free-born men and women was not the only form of vice, he alleges, but false witnesses, false seals, false testimonials, and false evidence came from the same workshop; there were also poisonings and murders within the group, so that at times not even the bodies were brought forth for burial. . . . Violence was concealed because amid wailings and the din of timbrels and cymbals not a sound could be heard from those shrieking in debauchery and murder.

Together, the two sources illustrate in particular the practice of the Romans in dealing with foreign religious cults and their abusers: though severe on the culpable, they permitted a way out for honest *pietas* and attested ceremony. In destroying Bacchanalian meeting places, for example, those were excepted in which there should be found some ancient altar or consecrated image—

¹ CIL I, 196. Facsimile in Diehl, Tabulae in Usum Scholarum: Inscriptiones Latinae: Bonn (1912), Tab. 5.

² XXXIX, 6-19; cf. also Cicero De Legibus II, 34-37.

an exception which was not respected by a Nordic government in 1939 on the "Day of Broken Glass."

The recovered bronze contributes too to the field of literary criticism because of the light which it throws upon Livy's use of source material—with credit, be it noted, to Livy.

Another bulletin that claims our attention is the Emperor Augustus' inventory of the acts of his principate. True, neither this record, nor the bronze document previously considered, nor two that are to follow may strictly be termed "posters," but they each help to support the main points of this paper, which are: that the ancient Romans publicized widely, in the manner of posters, to present matters of great importance or even matters of passing concern; that, though many records which it was hoped might survive have not come down to us, some have been preserved miraculously; that many others which were presumably ephemeral have also passed on to posterity; that most of the survivals have acquired a value far beyond their original import, and that in their new evaluation as historical sources the "important" become more important and the "ephemeral" have frequently climbed far up the ladder toward importance, and finally, that the regime of Mussolini in Italy consciously followed historical precedent, with an eye upon the future. Thus once again a modern slogan has been proved ancient in principle—it pays to advertise.

Now the Emperor Augustus³ appears to have left few regions uncharted: he executed the designs of the energetic Agrippa and of the astute Maecenas; he manifested an intuitive Italic genius for organization and systematization; he ordered the tracts of this world and soared to the realms of deity. Characteristically, he anticipated, even directed, the opinion of posterity in the *Memoirs* which he concluded shortly before his death and entrusted to the Vestal Virgins.⁴

² From the mass of material on Augustus the following books may be selected for original and stimulating appraisals of the Emperor in ultra-American, British, and Anglo-American opinion: H. S. Hadley, Rome and the World Today: New York and London, Putnam's (1933); John Buchan, Augustus: Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co. (1937); Mason Hammond, The Augustan Principate: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1933).

⁴ Suetonius, Augustus CI; for the complete account of his death, cf. *ibid.*, xcvII-CI. Cf. also Dio LVI, 29-47.

In May, A.D. 14, when omens were already indicating portentous events, he had set out on what proved to be a last holiday in Campania. At Nola, on the 19th of the month that bears his name, he died. In early September his funeral cortège sorrowfully restored his body to the Palatine, later to be placed amid great pomp in the Mausoleum which he had built between the Via Flaminia and the banks of the Tiber.

Tiberius summoned the Senate to consider details of the funeral, but Augustus had anticipated them! The Vestal Virgins brought forth the tablets of the will which he had made "one year and four months before he died," together with three rolls similarly sealed. All of these were opened in the Senate and read aloud.

In the first of the three rolls⁵ the Emperor had entered detailed directions concerning his funeral; in the third, a statistical breviary of the military and financial equipment of the entire Empire; in the second, an outline of his achievements, index rerum a se gestarum (to use Suetonius's phrase), which he wished to be incised upon bronze tablets, the tablets themselves to be set up in front of the Mausoleum.

The recovery of the contents of this *Index*, involving ramifications into literature, archaeology, the sciences, and the pseudosciences, has contributed to the romance of meticulous scholarship. It has become known, of course, as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, which holds magic even in its lacunae. Let us review the adventures of its discovery and study.

The documents which Augustus had filed with the Vestal Virgins have apparently been lost. And even in the most recent thorough excavations no trace has been found of the bronze tablets that were to have been set up in front of the Mausoleum. But some time in the sixteenth century western scholars began to hear of a remarkable monument at Ancyra in Galatia (modern Ankara, the seat of the present Turkish government). It is a Latin inscription

⁵ Dio (Lvi, 33) names four documents besides the will which, he says, were read to the Senate by Drusus, the fourth containing injunctions for Tiberius and for the public.

⁶ CIL III (2), 769-799. For full archaeological study with copious illustrations, cf. Daniel Krencker, Martin Schede, Oskar Heck, Der Tempel in Ankara: Denkmüler Antiker Architektur, Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches: Berlin and Leipzig (1936).

in three paginations on each side wall within the pronaos of what was then thought to be the praetorium. The title, in three lines of graduated rubrics, proclaims: The achievements of the deified augustus... As engraved upon two bronze pillars which have been set up in rome, are presented below in transcript—rervm gestarvm divi avgvsti... incisarvm in dvabvs aheneis pilis quae synt romae positae exemplar sybiectym.

A Dutch scholar, Buysbecche, on an embassy from Ferdinand II to Sultan Suleiman in 1555, was the first to copy and later publish parts of the inscription on the "Monument at Ancyra." From that moment it has been hailed as incomparable; the most interesting and important of all historical documents extant; in Mommsen's familiar phrase, a veritable "Queen of Inscriptions."

On the outer wall of the building is a version in Greek in twenty columns, but as it had weathered badly, and as Turkish houses had utilized it in places as a backstop, it was apparently not recognized at first as a copy of the Res Gestae. But travelers and scholars continued to study and to copy both inscriptions. Bits of evidence gradually identified the monument as the temple of Rome and Augustus, the Augusteum. Then a few fragments of a Greek version were found at Apollonia in Pisidia, also on the walls of the Augusteum. Light was beginning to dawn: obviously the Emperor's successor had circulated the Index throughout the East at least in connection with the imperial cult, recording it both in Latin and in Greek.

French scholars carried investigations forward, especially Georges Perrot and Edmond Guillaume, who were commissioned by Napoleon III in 1861. They made a facsimile of all the Latin and of what Greek was accessible; this was used as a basis for Mommsen's first edition of 1865 and for the text in the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions published in 1873. Finally, the Berlin Academy equipped Karl Humann to make plaster casts of both Greek and Latin in their entirety; these were used by Mommsen for publishing in 1883 a second edition of his work, which remained until less than two decades ago the standard Latin text of the Res Gestae Divi Augusti ex Monumentis Ancyrano et Apolloniensi.

The ingenuity of scholars has been taxed in interpreting dam-

aged letters and especially in restoring lacunae. When Fortune has been kind, it is possible to fill a gap from the Greek versions. The magic of the East still plays a part, for in 1914, Sir William Ramsay, while conducting excavations at Antioch in Pisidia (the ancient Colonia Caesarea, which was founded by Augustus), came upon fragments of a second Latin version in the debris near the Augusteum. In 1924–26 work was continued, with the University of Michigan collaborating. Publications by Sir William Ramsay, D. M. Robinson, and others have added to the zest of students of the text. It is Mr. Robinson's theory that the original was inscribed upon the pedestals of the columns of the propylaea.

In due reward to sound scholarship, many of Mommsen's conjectures have been confirmed. As was to be expected, a number of them have had to be discarded. One interesting instance is the statement in Section 5, "(I did not decline) . . . the supervision of the grain supply": non recusavi, conjectured Mommsen, translating the Greek οὐ παρητησάμην; non deprecatus sum, corrects the monument at Antioch as read by D. M. Robinson. A small matter, it may be remarked; but how much more august "I did not beg off," than the Teutonic "I did not refuse"! And extremely vital is the change in Section 34 from conjectured dignitate to restored auctoritate in a passage which throws light upon Augustus' policy. An accepted reading now is: Post id tem(pus auctoritate omnibus praestiti, potest) atis au(tem n)ihilo ampliu(s habui quam ceteri qui m)ihi quoque in ma(gis) tra(t) u conlegae (fuerunt). 10

In consequence of the discovery of the Monumentum Antioche-

⁷ W. M. Ramsay and A. von Premerstein, "Monumentum Antiochenum, cum tabulis," Klio, Beiheft xxi (1927). Cf. also Ramsay's "Colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch) in the Augustan Age," JRS vi (1916), 83-134 (esp. 105-129), and "Studies in the Roman Province Galatia: VI. Some Inscriptions of Colonia Caesarea Antiochea," JRS xiv (1924), 172-205.

⁸ The Deeds of Augustus as recorded on The Monumentum Antiochenum: Oxford (1926). Cf. also "A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Pisidian Antioch and at Sizma," AJA XXVIII (1924), 435-444, and "The Res Gestae Divi Augusti as recorded on the Monumentum Antiochenum," AJP XLVII (1926), 1-54, VII Plates.

⁹ AJP XLVII (1926), 8, 29 f.

¹⁰ The word order is according to C. Barini's recension (Rome, 1937), but cf. Robinson, *AJP* XIVII (1926), 19, 50, and Ramsay and von Premerstein, *Klio*, Beiheft XXI (1927), 96 f., 119.

num, Mommsen's old standard has to be checked by the studies of more recent scholars who have collated the fragments at Antioch¹¹—and what a jig-saw puzzle these fragments have offered! Within the last decade the concentration of scholarly interest upon Augustus has produced some excellent critical studies in Italy, notably by C. Barini,¹² whose special edition, published for the Augustan Bimillennium, is replete with twenty admirable photographic plates. One of the striking effects of the finds at Antioch has been to challenge the old romantic name Monumentum Ancyranum, which now commonly yields to the direct title, Res Gestae Divi Augusti.¹³

Every student of history is familiar with the recorded Res Gestae. Unmistakable in what they state, tantalizing in what they omit to state, clear-cut in diction, succinct in expression, dignified in tone, they present precisely the estimate of his principate which Augustus wished conveyed to the future.

In listing numerous public offices and other honors which were conferred upon him, the Emperor carefully pointed out: "The (proffered) dictatorship... I did not accept" (recepi)¹⁴—a bit of wisdom ignored by his would-be counterpart. Among benefactions to the state, the plebs, the soldiers, he specifically mentioned: "On my own ground I built from the spoils of war the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum"—these monuments

¹¹ E. g., Ernst Diehl, Res Gestae Divi Augusti—Das Monumentum Ancyranum: Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, "Kleine Texte series" (19356); and J. Gagé, Res Gestae Divi Augusti, Texte établi et commenté avec un appendice et 4 planches hors-texte: Strasbourg-Paris, Société d'éditions: Les belles lettres (1935).

¹² Res Gestae Divi Augusti Ex Monumentis Ancyrano Antiocheno Apolloniensi: Scriptores Graeci et Latini iussu Beniti Mussolini consilio R. Academiae Lynceorum editi: Rome (1937). Cf. also E. Malcovati, Res Gestae Divi Augusti, Testo, traduzionee commento: Rome (1936).

¹³ Familiar annotated editions by E. G. Hardy, The Monumentum Ancyranum: New York, Oxford University Press (1923), and by F. W. Shipley for the "Loeb Classical Library" (together with Velleius Paterculus), Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1924), appeared before the publication of the Monumentum Antiochenum. A commendable elementary edition, including other Augustan matter, has been prepared by R. S. Rogers, K. Scott, and M. M. Ward under the title Caesaris Augusti Res Gestae et Fragmenta, with introduction, notes, and vocabulary: New York (1935).

¹⁴ On recepi as the equivalent of 'εδεξάμην, cf. Robinson, AJP XLVII (1926), 29.

form an important part of the recent excavation of the imperial fora. Of special interest among the Emperor's military and administrative services to the Empire are the following items: "At my order and under my auspices two armies at almost the same time were led into Ethiopia and into Arabia" (et in Arabiam is omitted in the quotation on a memorial postage stamp for the Augustan Bimillennum!), and the very controversial statements, "Egypt I added to the sovereignty of the Roman People."... "The Republic I transferred from my own control (potestate) to the arbitrament (arbitrium) of the Senate and the Roman people." 15

This in almost his last words is Augustus' answer to his critics. But how cynics through the ages have snarled! "The soldiery he lured with gifts," says Tacitus,16 "the populace with grain, everyone with the sweetness of peace." All, "fiction," says one; "hypocrite," another brands; obviously "sincere," retort the more charitable; in any case, Augustus should not be held responsible for later tendencies. But he who travels either in study or in space may still read and judge for himself. As Mason Hammond comments:17 Whether or not Augustus spoke sincerely, he certainly intended the new order to appear as a continuation of the old; if it was a "makeshift," many a later government might well be envious. "Have I skilfully played life's mimicry?" (mimum vitae commode transegisse), the Emperor asked his friends, so Suetonius says, 18 on the day of his death. His own answer is in the affirmative, and whether or not he kept the faith, the consensus of unbiased opinion today would undoubtedly concede that he fought a good fight. Let us dismiss him from the stage, as he requested, with applause.

The Res Gestae dismissed, there come to mind two imperial bronzes of great historical interest. The first is the large tablet¹⁹ in two columns which was discovered at Lyons in 1524 near the

¹⁵ The translations accord with Barini's text for selections from chapters 5 (cf. note 14 above), 21, 26, 27, 34.

¹⁶ Annals 1, 2, 5 f.

¹⁷ The Augustan Principate, 21.

¹⁸ Augustus XCIX, 1.

¹⁹ CIL XIII, 1668. Cf. Tacitus, Annals XI, 23-25, and H. Furneaux, The Annals of Tacitus (Oxford, 1907⁹), II, App. I, 54-60.

Altar of Rome and Augustus. It records in part a transcript of the speech which Claudius made in the Roman Senate in A.D. 48, debating on the affirmative the question of extending privileges, including admission to the Senate, to prominent claimants from the Gallic provinces beyond the Alps-from Gallia Comata, where dwelt the "long-haired" Gauls as distinguished from those in the long-Romanized provinces Narbonensis and Padana (Gallia Togata). It claims attention in this compilation because, together with the decree of the Senate which granted the desired privilege to the Aeduans only (as being longest established as friends, even "brothers" of Rome-a typical Roman compromise)-together with this decree it was probably set up, Furneaux believes, not only at Lyons but at other places in the provinces which it concerned. Claudius, it appears, was addicted to "posting." According to Dio, he employed heralds very seldom, but was highly commended because he made public most events by announcements on bulletin boards (ès σανίδας γράφων).20

Bearing as they do upon the treatment of aliens, both the speech and the decree are today up to the moment in political interest. Furthermore, the Claudian bronze has a very intriguing literary counterpart in the Annals of Tacitus, 19 where Tacitus reports senatorial arguments for the negative, "paraphrases" the speech, and records the decree. These are extremely significant chapters because this is the only instance in which, to quote Furneaux, we are "able to bring him [Tacitus] to book" on the use of documentary material. While Tacitus' familiarity with his sources in this case and his estimate of the Emperor's speech are open to varying interpretations, as editors attest, yet, whatever may have been his estimate of the address, it has been hailed by historians since Merivale as indicating an advance in the development of political unity. Minute study of it and of other documents that have been steadily coming to light has created historically, so to speak, a new Claudius.21 In A. A. Trever's somewhat extravagant phrasing: "Utterly

²⁰ Dio Lx, 13, 5.

²¹ Cf. Arnaldo Momigliano, Claudius the Emperor and his Achievements: Oxford (1934); M. P. Charlesworth, Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero: Cambridge (1939); V. M. Scramuzza, The Emperor Claudius: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1940).

contrary to the expectation of his contemporaries, his reign was to be epochal for constructive empire-building second only to that of Augustus."²²

The second of the two imperial bronzes to which attention is directed is the so-called Lex de Imperio Vespasiani,23 which has been preserved, in part, at Rome. It is said to offer the only extant example of its kind, representing a single legislative act which constitutionally conferred upon the princeps various powers other than the imperium and the tribunician power, which are not named in the preserved portion.24 This document indicates that in the first century the princeps did not assume extraordinary authority without legislative enactment, and that he was specifically exempted or privileged in regard to former law: for instance, ita uti licuit divo Aug. . . . ita uti licuit Ti. Claudio Caesari Aug. Germanico. There is a tempting parallel, slight though it may be, in the granting of extraordinary powers to the American President in recent years. The Lex is drawn into the present study not because it may have been duplicated for publicity-we do not know that it was—but the surviving bronze was itself returned to service in the fourteenth century, when Cola di Rienzi had it affixed to the wall in St. John Lateran in order to publicize his rights.

Chronologically our survey has brought us to the familiar story of Pompeii's diverting "murals." True, a number of structures at Pompeii date from the time of Augustus or long before, but since many buildings were destroyed by earthquake under Nero in A.D. 63, and since in A.D. 79, under Titus, Vesuvius successfully buried the town to a depth of nineteen to twenty-three feet under

²² History of Ancient Civilization II: The Roman World: New York (1939), 408. Cf. also Charles Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire: London, Longmans (1896), vi, 118-120.

²³ CIL vi, 930. Cf. G. McN. Rushforth, Latin Historical Inscriptions Illustrating the History of the Early Empire: New York, Oxford University Press (1930²), 82-87.

²⁴ On this point see Rushforth, op. cit., 87.

³⁶ Cf. A. Mau—F. W. Kelsey, Pompeii, Its Life and Art: New York, Macmillan (1902), esp. 475-588; F. F. Abbott, "Municipal Politics in Pompeii," in Society and Politics in Ancient Rome: New York (1909), 3-21; M. Della Corte, Pompeii, The New Excavations: Pompeii (1927); Amadeo Maiuri, Pompeii, "Guide Books to Museums and Monuments in Italy," "La Libreria dello Stato": Rome (1937); H. H. Tanzer, The Common People of Pompeii: Baltimore, "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology," No. 29 (1939).

ashes, stones, scoriae, and lava, there is a fairly definite terminus a quo ad quem.

The scribblings and paintings on outer walls are peculiarly significant for their influence upon a later day. Let us, therefore, recall the graffiti scratched with a sharp point in fine running hand, which preserve accounts, memory gems, maxims, children's games and amoretti, caricatures, what not; and especially the inscriptions that are frequently termed dipinti because they are painted, usually in large red capitals two to twelve inches tall upon a white plaster ground, sometimes in white on red, occasionally in black and red. In this way have been preserved advertisements and announcements, house signs, inventories, notices of market days, of buildings for rent, and of articles and animals lost. The writings are ubiquitous: by a scribbler or by a professional scriptor; upon houses of the most influential citizens, upon public buildings, and even upon tombs. "O wall," someone has scrawled upon basilica, theatre, and amphitheatre, "I wonder that you have not fallen into ruin in sustaining so many irksome scribblings."26

On the front of the house of Trebius Valens, a person of some importance in the zone of the new excavations, appears an elaborate announcement of public games to be sponsored by the family on a given date; it is promised that in addition to gladiators "there will be animal baiting and awnings." A similar inscription elsewhere was written and signed by "Aemilius Celer, all alone, by moonlight"; and the *scriptor* "Ocella," after he had written out his advertisement for games on the occasion of the dedication of the public archives and had announced that there would be "a parade, animal baiting, athletic sports, and awnings," suggestively added after his own name good-bye to his lady (who may, of course, have been only the black night): Nigra Vale.²⁷

Most commonly the inscriptions give details about municipal politics. The simplest form has, in Latin, only one or two words: for example, "Casellius (for)aedile" (Casellium AED); or merely a name (Casellium; Cn. Helvium Sabinum). Other notices are more explicit—nominating, supporting, claiming election; specifying

²⁵ CIL IV, 1904.

²⁷ Maiuri, op. cit., 16, fig. 71; CIL IV, 3884; Notizie degli Scavi XIV (1916), 106.

deserts and qualifications; urging and entreating, usually in abbreviated form such as o.v.f. (oro vos, facite): "I beg you vote for C. Julius Polybius for aedile. He makes good bread"; "I beg you vote for C. Gavius Rufus for duumvir. He is useful to the state. Vesonius Primus recommends him." (M. Vesonius Primus has been identified as living at "No. 20 Stabian Street" in the so-called House of Orpheus; he ran the fullery next door).

The supporter might be a single individual, a family, the neighbors, one's clients and cronies, a group, a club, a guild, the town, a district. "I beg you vote for M. Pupius Rufus for duumvir with judicial authority; he deserves public office. Mustius the fuller supports him and whitewashes (here), the sole writer without the other members of his guild." "Primus and his household support Cn. Helvius Sabinus for aedile"; "His neighbors support Cn. Helvius Sabinus for aedile"; "Lucius Popidius Ampliatus, son of Lucius, is recommended for aedile by his client Montanus and the chessplayers": "All the worshipers of Isis recommend Cn. Helvius Sabinus for aedile"; "Good luck to the city council, we, the youth, make recommendation"; "The fruit sellers incorporated, together with Helvius Vestalis, recommend M. Holconius Priscus for duumvir with judicial authority"; "The Pompeians have unanimously supported P. Aquius Proculus"; "The Campanians recommend M. Epidius Sabinus for aedile." It was a matter of give and take: "Support (the candidate), Trebius Valens, and he will do the same for you." The crafts and shopkeepers mentioned as groups in the notices include barbers, perfumers, goldsmiths, garlic-dealers, dyers, fullers, cloak-cutters, pack-carriers, mule-drivers, fishermen, trumpeters, and others. Always amusing are "all the sleepyheads," "all the late drinkers," "all the petty thieves" that supported Vatia, at whom presumably some waggish opponent was having his fling.29

28 CIL IV, 3518, 6659, 6663, 429, 3471.

²³ CIL rv, 3529, 3482, 852, 787, 202, 1122, 470, 575, 581, 576; Notizie degli Scavi XII (1914), 220, 13; xv (1917), 280, 7; xrv (1916), 109, 10. Della Corte (op. cit., 62-68, 96-102) identifies "the youth" with the Venerii Pompeiani and interprets them to be "The Society of the Noble Youth of Pompeii" under the patronage of Venus; he ascribes to them as their official seat the Schola Iuventutis Pompeianae among the excavations and an elegant gymnasium (commonly known as the Property of Julia Felix) equipped

This custom of wall writing was apparently universal. F. F. Abbott in an essay on "Municipal Politics in Pompeii" cites a notice from a monument near Rome which reads, "Inscriber, I beg of you to pass this monument by—if ever any candidate's name shall be written on this monument, I hope that he will be defeated and never carry an office!" And the persistence of the custom in Latin countries through the medium of paper posters, but at greater length and much more acrimonious, is attested by my late colleague, R. C. Brooks, the political scientist, who was impressed by electoral posters in Paris³¹ prior to a council election in 1925.

If we appear to have traveled far afield in a search for Italian posters, and to have interpreted "poster" rather broadly, note that there is throughout a connecting thread. Our thesis is that the paper poster and other "murals" (if they may be called that) which are employed all over Italy today—or were at least, yesterday—to give information upon domestic and political matters and to educate the public in various ways, are in direct line with the ancient Roman practice so far described.

In the spring of 1937 there were posters in Rome over the name of Il Governatore Piero Colonna to announce the birth of the Principino di Piemonte; posters in the name of Il Prefetto F. M. Presti to direct drills against air raids; posters on April 21 to celebrate "the two-thousand-six-hundred-and-ninetieth birthday of Rome" which for so long a period has "lighted the hearth of the world"; posters on the 9th of May exulting over the first anniversary of the "Founding of the Empire": "Romani! Romani! Romani!", proclaimed the S. P. Q. R., "Tempered by twenty centuries of tempestuous strife. . . . Rome has found again its majestic spirit. . . . The spirit of heroes breathes today in her strong legions; and in the restorations of Rome comes to life again the epic and spiritual majesty of the Caesars." ³²

for the "Nine Hundred" with a bath, wrestling grounds, guest rooms, and shops (CIL rv, 1136).

³⁰ Op. cit., 5.

^{31 &}quot;Les Affiches Electorales—Paris Gayley Chooses a Council," National Municipal Review XIV (1925), 525-531.

²² The posters cited in this paragraph were photographed for the writer by Dr. Walter F. Snyder while a Fellow at the American Academy in Rome, except the poster of April 21, which the writer copied in part.

More durable was the series of maps set up at the point where the Velia has been cut away to carry the Via dell' Impero through the hill on the level. In low relief on marble slabs, they were attached to a brick sustaining wall that runs from the east end of the Basilica Maxentius toward the Colosseum. They were therefore close to what remains of the Temple of the Sacred City (now incorporated in the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano) in the Forum of Vespasian, where the so-called Capitoline Plan once gave design to the back wall of the temple with a map of the city of Rome (Forma Urbis Romae). This has long been one of the most visited quarters of the capital.

The first map shows Rome in the eighth century B.C., a tiny pebble in the great ocean of the Mediterranean world. By 146 B.C., after the Punic and Macedonian conquests, Rome of Map II has been expanded to include Spain and a bit of Africa, and has girdled the Adriatic; by the death of Augustus, A.D. 14, Map III shows the Empire practically encircling the Mediterranean; Map IV presents its greatest extent, under Trajan, from Britain to the Caspian Sea and the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, from the Danube and Black Sea to the African and Arabian deserts. These fours maps confronted the Via dell' Impero. At the union with the Basilica Maxentius an angle is formed; on the ell facing the Colosseum the latest edition, in 1937, was Map v, proudly displaying L'IMPERO DELL' ITALIA FASCISTA which was inaugurated on the ninth dayof May, 1936, in the fourteenth year of Fascism: Italy, Sardinia, Sicily, Libya, Ethiopia!³³ Recent events will necessitate a change, but the significance of the past in this case is all too obvious.

It is not only maps that recall the past upon Italian walls. As a means of circulating and popularizing the ideas of the Fascist regime, the Pompeian method of mural writing in its propagandist aspect had been adopted throughout the peninsula.³⁴ Journeys in

³³ Before the present war photographs of these maps were procurable on post cards through Eugenio Rixi (*Largo Chigi* 8, Rome) and other dealers, and on cards 8"×10" through Alinari (Rome and Florence). The entire description given above is as of 1938.

A similar method of publicity appears to be developing among the Anglo-Saxons. Bill-board propaganda was more conspicuous for the 1940 presidential election in the United States than in previous years. And the ubiquitous "V" for "Victory" directly recalls the omnipresent "V" in Italy for "Viva (il Duce)." In America restrictions upon bill-boards for advertising are already on the statutes of twenty-two states, according

1937 and 1938 took the writer from Brindisi in the southeast to Mantua in the northwest; from Venice and Ravenna in the northeast to Naples and Paestum in the southwest. Everywhere, upon stone, brick, or stuccoed walls, painted usually in large red or black capitals, appeared brief sententiae from public or publicized utterances of the "Chieftain," frequently signed with his stenciled signature. Here was an opportunity to gather source material at first hand. In Hamlet's words, the story was then "extant and writ in choice Italian."

To classify and interpret the scripta has been more than diverting. Commonest among them, of course, is the Fascist slogan: "Trust, obey, fight!"—Credere, obbedire, combatterel It appeared everywhere and smacks smartly of Veni, vidi, vici, from Zela. As is to be expected, many were flagrantly militaristic, especially in barracks centers, though in 1937–38 the emphasis in the cross section that could be gathered was upon security, not upon aggression, as "It is the plow that traces the furrow, the sword that defends it." There was emphasis, too, upon L'Italia Romana, not upon foreign conquest; and there was a sense that "Italy has a solemn obligation in her Empire."

In many respects the dicta are decidedly Roman in style and character, that is to say, they are gnomic, didactic, maximatic; rhetorical, psychologically shrewd, alliterative: "Piu profondo il solco, piu alto il destino"; "Il credo del Fascismo è l'eroismo, quello del Borghese è l'egoismo." Among the most disturbing inscriptions in its sinister influence is the formal memorial, not painted in Italian but inscribed in Latin, deprecating the sanctions of 1935, "so that there may remain documented throughout the ages the enormous injustice consummated against Italy, to which so much is due in the civilization of every continent." This was prominently, even monumentally displayed both in Florence and in Ferrara. Similar bitterness was exhibited in other towns, in Genoa,

to A. J. Bard, "Winning the Bill-board War," National Municipal Review XXX (1941), 409-411, 460.

²⁶ Copies of all inscriptions quoted or translated in the ensuing paragraphs, and of many others, were made by the writer. It is probable, of course, that as the Axis expanded and war developed the tenor of the writings changed.

for example, where under "Debits" the dates of Italy's entry into the First World War, of the decisive victory for the Allies over Austria (*Vittorio Veneto*), and of the discovery of America were "balanced" under "Credits" by the date of sanctions!

When analyzed as a whole, the scripta fall under rather reputable categories—for instance, 1) Peace—albeit peace reposing upon armed forces; 2) Strong national position that will demand respect; 3) Prosperity, active trade and employment; 4) Improvement in social conditions. The captions selected happen to designate the objectives named by a prominent foreign statesman in his first speech as prime minister of a great empire, but they fit the "murals" without change. Is it possible that the archaeologist of the future, interpreting the recent writings upon Italian walls, may be reduced to the conclusion that in 1937–38 the aims of opposing nations were in their preachment identical? Is it the demand for "respect" through strength—without perhaps respecting—that is the inevitable pitfall for nations? Assuredly the other objectives, as expressed, appear above reproach.

Be that as it may, Italy in 1937–38 was preaching peace in terms of respect and force. Thus at Vicenza, "Peace reposes upon our armed forces"; yet Civita Vecchia was finding another way out, "Peace in work and work in peace" (Pace nel lavoro e lavoro nella pace). As concerns item 2), making the country strong so as to demand respect: "This is my ambition," one read at Siena, "to make the Italian people strong, prosperous, great, free"; and at Venice and many other places, "Italy will have her high position in the world."

address at Birmingham as paraphrased in the categories above, specifically 2) "... make our country so strong, that nobody shall treat her with anything but respect"; and the New York Times (June 18, 1939), Sect. 8, p. 1, quoting the President's words to West Pointers: "... service never ends... in the sense that it engages the best of your imagination in the endless adventure of keeping the United States safe, strong, and at peace," also ibid. (June 25, 1939), Sect. 4, p. 9, the remark of Assistant Secretary Johnson: "I believe that the road to peace is that we have charted for you: make America so strong that no aggressor nation would dare to attack these shores." The President's admirable corollary (on June 18) offers a solution: "Strength is needed—strength which comes not from arms alone, but from restraint and co-operation, which in turn are the product of trained and disciplined minds."

On item 3), maintaining and increasing trade, employment and prosperity, one noted at Ferrara, "The Fascist government is not, cannot be, never will be hostile to Labor"; at Siena, "Those whom I prefer are those who work hard and earnestly without sputtering" (duro, secco, sodo). But there must be discipline: disciplino concordia e lavoro were the requisites demanded for reconstruction from Vicenza to Ercolano. And living meant progressing: Vivere significa avanzare (at Bologna).

As to item 4), improving the conditions of the people, to this end was directed the organization of "After Work," that is the Dopolavoro, which corresponded roughly to the Y.M.C.A. and our community centers. Libraries were the "temples" that were being restored, such as the Regia Biblioteca Universitaria at Genoa which, "once dedicated to prayer, now in a new age of enlightenment under the fasces, has become a Treasury of Books for the cultivation of humanity."37 Everywhere stadia and athletic centers were being inaugurated. And that "the Theatre must be designed for the people" was announced by paper posters in profusion, heralding the arrival of the O. N. D. (Opera of the National Dopolavoro). This was an itinerant company which for a nominal fee of about seventeen cents to one dollar was staging excellent Italian opera; it was transported from town to town very effectively in a truck, which was hailed significantly as the "Car of Lyric Thespis," Carro di Tespi lirico38 (familiarly termed the C. d. T.!), while colorful posters announced: "We have recovered and value all those manifestations which make the spirit sound and happy," for "without the light of the spirit no work is fruitful

To some the old Roman spirit was calling—calling for something lasting, a momentum aere perennius.³⁹ And down the ages had come living documents to tell their tale, even to point the way on matters of religion, politics, statecraft, empire-building, reform. Doubtless the Roman prayer today is as it was with the Augustans,

37 The inscription is in Latin.

and lasting."

39 Horace, Odes III, 30, 1; 3, 42.

³⁸ Cf. Alfredo Casella, "Open-Air Opera in Italy," The Christian Science Monitor (August 19, 1939).

Stet Capitolium. 30 Until the war cast its shadow, the restored Past and the City of Tomorrow were meeting round the Capitol: to the south the district that harbored Hercules at the ford with the handsome cattle of Gervon, and "Tiber, Father Tiber" himself who welcomed Aeneas; to the southwest the regal Tarpeian Rock completely revealed, begardened, and documented in Latin in the name of Antonio Munoz praepositus artibus provehendis, Francesco Ludovisi praefectus urbis, the Senatus Populusque Romanus, Benito Mussolini Italiae rei moderator optimus, Vittorio Amanuele III Rex; to the east, the Forum of the Republic; to the northeast the Imperial Fora; to the west, the memorials of early Christian centuries and the Campidoglio of the Renaissance; to the north the Monument to United Italy; and round about throughout all Italy, the handwriting on the wall! "The past is now behind our backs, the future is ours," the writings hopefully attested in 1938. They are more sinister today no doubt, butinterpret as you will. Propaganda these scripta may have been, yet in centuries to come some may find them history!

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Addendum: Events in the Mediterranean have brought a touch of pathos to the scriptum from the Genoese suburb, Nervi: "If for others the Mediterranean is a highway, for us it is life."

NOTES

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John L. Heller, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.]

SOME COMMENTS ON READING LATIN AS LATIN¹

The appearance of two articles² recently in the Classical Journal on this subject has prompted me to make these modest comments.

- 1. These articles are based upon the assumption that Latin is studied in our schools for its own sake; a desirable objective to be sure and one that appeals to all lovers of Latin, but a luxury. It is not one, however, that appeals to school boards and taxpayers.
- 2. If by reading Latin as Latin is meant reading Latin that is commensurate with the pupil's ability and progress in the language, I should say "Yes." But if it means the reading of Caesar and Cicero, I should say "No." Comparatively few Romans ever read Cicero with ease.

¹ Arguments against the reading of Latin as Latin may be found in the following books and articles: Charles E. Bennett and George P. Bristol, The Teaching of Latin and Greek in the Secondary School, (N. Y., Longmans, Green, and Co., [1901]), 85–103; Mason D. Gray, The Teaching of Latin (N. Y., Appleton and Co., [1929]), 58–61; Dorrance S. White, The Teaching of Latin (Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Co., [1941]), 130–139; id., "What the Young Teacher of Latin May Accept and Reject in the Report of the Classical Investigation," C.J. xxvII (1931–32), 575 f.; A. T. Walker, "The Report of the Classical Investigation—A Criticism," C.J. xxv (1929–30), 83–92; Charles A. Tonsor, "A Comment on 'How Much Case Syntax?'" Classical Outlook xv (1938–39), 4 f.

Some outstanding articles that have appeared in the Classical Journal besides the two elsewhere referred to, and that favor the reading of Latin as Latin, are here listed: Mark E. Hutchinson, "The Reading Method—Is It Practicable in Latin?," C.J. xxxi (1935–36), 289–302; W. L. Carr, "Reading Latin as Latin—Some Difficulties and Some Devices," C.J. xxvi (1930–31), 127–140; id., "Shall We Teach Our Pupils to Read Latin?," C.J. xxiii (1927–28), 500–510; Clarence P. Bill, "Reading the Classics," C.J. xxii (1926–27), 88–96; Mignonette Spilman, "Learning to Read in the Latin Order," C.J. xxiv (1928–29), 323–337; Katherine E. Carver, "Straightening out the Latin Sentence," C.J. xxxvii (1941–42), 129–137.

² Jonah W. D. Skiles, "The Teaching of the Reading of Latin in the Latin Word-Order," C.J. xxxix (1943-44), 88-104; Edith Frances Classin, "Teaching the Art of Reading Latin," C.J. xxxix (1943-44), 130-136.

- 3. These articles assume that pupils will study Latin for several years, whereas the statistics prove that fewer than 15 per cent continue longer than two years.
- 4. Without doubt Latin word order is the most difficult feature of Latin study. Vocabulary and forms are not to be compared with it. If some way could be found for obviating the difficulty of word order, much of the pupil's dissatisfaction with Latin would disappear. We shall never solve this problem by dismissing it lightly.
- 5. Latin word order as it has come down to us was not the natural speech of the average Roman, but was a highly artistic, rhetorical, and literary kind of writing, learned and perfected by both writer and reader only after many years of training in Roman and Greek schools.
- 6. I question whether the average pupil can learn declensions and conjugations, acquire a vocabulary, and learn to think in Latin all in one intellectual process. No pupil can feel Latin as Latin until he has had a wide experience in the language.
- 7. Even "reading" is not reading unless it is done with perfect understanding. If translation is difficult for a pupil, the difficulty is only added to by reading without translating.
- 8. To disparage grammar, it seems to me, is not wise. The disappearance of formal grammar from the grades has brought it about that unless the student learns something of grammatical analysis through Latin, the chances are that he will go through life without it. There are some of us who would be glad sometimes if our students did have a consciousness of subject and predicate. I fear that Professor Hale did not realize all its implications when he perpetrated his only joke. Professor Shorey once wrote that what the present-day student most needs is to be "set gnawing the file of Latin grammar."
- 9. Let us not surrender lightly our stock in trade. There is no subject in the curriculum for the study of which so many reasons can be given as for Latin. A number of these are listed in the Report of the Classical Investigation as ultimate objectives.³ About thirty years ago Miss Frances E. Sabin published an exhibit

³ The Classical Investigation, Part One (Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1924), 33-82.

which she had prepared and which is still available, admirably illustrating nine educational values of Latin in relation to practical life. Are we going to throw overboard these recognized values in our zeal for reading Latin as Latin?

- 10. It would be very helpful to beginning teachers of Latin if the experience of teachers who have used this method successfully over a period of time and with successive classes could be made available—not how it may be done, but how it has been done in given cases. Agitation for this method without some positive evidence and demonstration of its utility must be disquieting and disconcerting to beginning teachers.
- 11. Fads arise continually, but most of them "have their day and cease to be." About thirty years ago there began in this country a strong movement toward the direct method of teaching Latin. Professor Rouse came over from England to add impetus to the discussion. It seemed to be a panacea for our Latin ills. Great enthusiasm was aroused in some quarters. But a grain of common sense and a bit of the sense of humor saved us. The direct method may be an excellent means but it is not an end in itself. And we smiled as it occurred to us that schools do not exist for teaching pupils to speak, but to read. A college graduate has spent twelve to fourteen years learning to read English.
- 12. Professor Frank Justus Miller used to give this dictum to his students who were going to be teachers of Latin: "Let the sentence unravel itself as it will." After all, this is still a democratic country, we hope, and it must be left to each teacher to use the method most useful to him individually in his local situation.
- 13. Why this extraordinary veneration for Latin word order on the part of some? For them vocabulary can be guessed at; forms need to be mastered only as occasion arises; syntax should be deferred as long as possible. But as to word order—take off your shoes, for that is holy ground.
- 14. A knowledge of the Latin language is more important than a knowledge of Latin literature. Some knowledge of the language is almost a necessity for every English-speaking person. A knowl-

⁴ Frances E. Sabin, *The Relation of Latin to Practical Life*, published by the author, Madison, Wis., 1913; may be secured now from M. R. Sabin, Jonesboro, Tennessee.

edge of the literature belongs to the higher culture and can be attained only by the few. Even in English literature not many revel in the beauty and glory of Burke, Macaulay, Thackeray, Ruskin, and Browning.

15. In making these comments I have no desire to be critical or to stand in the way of progress. If reading Latin as Latin will save Latin for our schools and for the boys and girls, and enable it to continue to be an instrument of education as it has been in the past, then I shall gladly and enthusiastically support it. If it is not the best method, then we should consider carefully and be wise. At the present time classical studies and indeed our whole educational system are being disrupted. We know what were the effects upon Latin of the first World War. What the result of the second one will be is still in the lap of the gods.

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THE EARLY ROMAN CALENDAR

I saw the new moon late yestreen, Wi' the auld moon in her arm. Ballad of Sir Patrick Spens.

As one living in the woods, who has an amateur interest both in astronomy and in the classics, I offer the following hypothesis as to the lunar origin of the Roman months. It attempts to account for the Nones and Ides within the months, and for the occurrence of the 31-day months, and their number and position in the pre-Julian year.

The primitive year of ten months probably had 295 days, though 304 were attributed to it by a very natural mistake. For a primitive lunar month would naturally begin at sunset, when the new moon had been observed. Thus each day of transition from one month to the next belonged to both months, and in this case the nine days of transition were counted twice. So these months, though nominally of 31 and 30 days, were equivalent to true lunar months of 30 and 29 days.

A series of lunar months begins best with a long month, in order to ensure the presence of a new moon to be observed at the beginning of the second month. Then the months alternate. This is the pattern followed by the Attic months, and by the first four, or named, months of the primitive Roman year. But the last six, or numbered, Roman months included only two 31-day months. For December, unlike the preceding months, did not share its last day with any other month, and so was equivalent to the 31-day months, though it had but 30 days. In order, therefore, to retain the alternation of months with 31 and 30 days, it was necessary for the 31-day months to alternate with pairs of 30-day months. So we have the following scheme:

Martius, Aprilis, Maius, Iunius, Quintilis, Sextilis, September, October, November, December.

It seems very possible that Martius and Maius were regarded as beginning subdivisions of spring, and Quintilis and October as beginning summer and autumn respectively. The ver sacrum applied to animals born in the first two months.

Later, when actual observation of the moon and close accord with its phases became less important, the brief first days of the 30-day months were absorbed by the last days of the preceding months. But the first day of Martius had no preceding day to absorb it, and it was, moreover, a day of great significance, being the first day of the year. So Martius retained its 31 days. This set a precedent for the other 31-day months, whose first days may also have been significant, as the first days of seasonal periods. Hence the 31 days and 29 days of Numa's months.

Now let us consider the position of the Nones in the primitive months. But first an astronomical note is necessary. The moon is new when, on the date given in the almanac, it passes the sun in its course around the sky. But it is usually too close to the sun or, in our latitude, to the horizon, to be visible before the second day after the date in the almanac. Dr. Karl Geiger (Der römische Kalender, München, 1936) gives the average time between the

true and the visible new moon as a day and a half. But the new moon sets so early that, even with a clear atmosphere, it would usually be invisible until the second day after the true new moon, even on this basis. Now the first day of each month coincided with the last day of the preceding month, and was the day on which the new moon became visible. So the true new moon fell on the 29th of the 31-day months, and the 28th of the 30-day months. And the first quarter falls, on the average, almost exactly 22 days before the next true new moon. So the Nones fell on the 7th in the former case, and on the 6th in the latter. It is worth noting that these dates were eight days and seven days, respectively, after the preceding true new moon. For the first quarter falls eight days after the true new moon almost as often as seven days after. So these (partly hypothetical) dates of the Nones correspond remarkably well with the astronomical phenomena. When the 30-day months lost their first days, the Nones in those months fell on the 5th.

The Ides, as the day of full moon, would more naturally fall seven days after the Nones, but the actual interval of eight days is astronomically possible, and was much more convenient. For it brought the Ides to the middle of the month, and eight days was exactly one-third of the period from the Nones to the Calends in the primitive months. In the 31-day months the Ides remained on the 15th, but in the other months the 14th became the 13th when the first day was dropped.

In Gow's Companion to School Classics it is stated, apparently on the authority of Dr. Unger, that the Latin months must originally have contained 29 and 30 days alternately, and therefore that the full moon must have fallen on the 14th and 15th alternately. This seems to harmonize well with my hypothesis. The Roman dislike of even numbers is also alluded to, and this may

¹ Precisely this correspondence is found in the first two months of Numa's year, if we may assume that this year, like the primitive one, began with the appearance of the new moon. For, astronomically, the Calends should then have fallen on the 31st of Martius, and on the 29th of Aprilis. Of course it is to be understood that, in practice, a 30-day period of the moon would sometimes coincide with a 29-day month, and viceversa. We have to deal with averages.

have played some part in the retention of the 31-day months, and the shortening of the 30-day months of the primitive year.

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CIVES SINE SUFFRAGIO IN ENGLAND

It is well known that in the early Roman republic citizens were divided into two classes: (1) those who had civitas optimo iure involving all iura publica and iura privata; and (2) those who had civitas minuto iure or were without the vote (sine suffragio). The Latins were in the first class, while the Campanians, Etruscans, and Sabines received the private rights of provocatio, commercium, and conubium only, and hence were in the second class.

The conubium carried with it the patria potestas and all the family rights that flowed from this power; the commercium allowed the citizen of the contracting state to own Roman land, to convey property by Roman forms, to make a contract by the ceremonial of the sponsio, to inherit from a Roman or to make a Roman his heir, while it gave the citizen of Rome corresponding rights in the alien city.¹

Among the socii, the people of the nomen Latinum were in the second class, with the opportunity eventually to acquire the suffragium by residence in Rome.

An interesting modern parallel has come to light in the day's news. The London *Times* of December 18, 1943, describes a libel suit in England conducted by the Prince of Pless (a principality in Upper Silesia which was German before the last war but became a part of Poland by the Treaty of Versailles) against Lord Castlereagh, M.P. The libel was concerned with espionage. In the course of the trial the Prince of Pless stated that he was a godson of Edward VII and was born in Berlin. In 1933 he wished to become a British citizen; because an alien can normally, since 1914, become a naturalized British citizen only after five years' residence in British dominions, he had applied for "Letters of Denization."

¹ A. H. J. Greenidge, Roman Public Life (London, 1901 [reprinted 1930]), 295. Chapter vII deals with Roman citizenship. The most complete examination of the complicated problems is A. N. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship: New York, Oxford University Press, 1939.

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The Home Office informed him that the process of denization was obsolete and advised him to apply for naturalization papers after five years' residence in England.

"Denization" is a process of obtaining civitas minuto iure which survives on the statute books in England although it has not been granted to anyone for over half a century and it seems unlikely that any "denizen" survives. The New English Dictionary states that the term comes from the Anglo-French deinzein, from Latin de intus (cf. French dans) and -aneus (cf. foreign). In the ordinary sense it indicates "one who dwells within a country, as opposed to foreigners." Only in Britain has it this secondary technical meaning of an alien who obtains by letters patent (ex donatione regis) privileges of a British subject. In this technical sense the word seems to appear first in the seventeenth century; an Act for Denization was passed in 1601, and in 1667 in the Statutes we find "The King by his Prerogative hath Power to Enfranchise an Alien, and make him a Denison."

The limitations imposed on a denizen appear first with the Act of Settlement (1701). It seemed advisable to ensure that no foreigners should hold office or land in Britain by gift of the king. Hence the act contained the following clause:

... no person born out of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland or the dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized or made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to be of the Privy Council or a member of either House of Parliament, to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements or hereditaments from the Crown to himself or to any other or others in trust for him.³

The words "naturalized or" were repealed later, but these restrictions still apply to denizens. It appears that this act and the Merchant Shipping Act (1894), which provides that denizens may be owners of British ships, constitute the only definite legislation affecting denizens. The British Nationality Act (1914) specifically

² New English Dictionary, s. v. "Denizen."

³ 12 & 13 Will. III, c. 2, quoted by E. F. W. Gey van Pittius, Nationality within the British Commonwealth of Nations (London, P. S. King & Son, Ltd. [1930]), 68. On pp. 84-86 denization is discussed.

states: "Nothing in this act shall affect the grant of letters of denization by His Majesty."⁴

The law on denization is "recondite, but still law." All legal authorities agree that the process is obscure and that little is known concerning it. Denizens are subject "to all the laws applicable to British subjects, while they do not enjoy all the rights and privileges of a naturalized person." The *Encyclopaedia Americana* states that a denizen "may take lands by purchase or devise, or derive a title by descent through his parents or any ancestor though they be aliens." The position of the children of denizens seems never to have been clear and has not been defined by any of the Nationality Acts, since these do not apply to denizens. It appears that the king can, at his absolute discretion, stipulate the effects of denization in each particular case.

Thus we see that the king still has the right to confer on specially selected aliens certain limited rights of British citizenship, i.e., to make them denizens. Such persons are deprived of the ius honorum in that they cannot hold responsible office, but they can receive all other privileges of British citizenship. And, just as the civis sine suffragio could have the ban on his vote removed by taking up residence in Rome, so the denizen can have his disqualifications regarding office removed by naturalization, obtained after five years' residence in British territory.

It seems a curious parallel with the Roman idea that citizens could be divided into full citizens and half citizens.

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⁴ R. W. Flournoy and Manley O. Hudson, A Collection of Nationality Laws of Various Countries (New York, Oxford University Press [1929]), 71.

⁶ Gey van Pittius, op. cit., 84 f.

⁶ Encyclopaedia Americana, s.v. "Denizen." The article goes on to say that denization also exists in the statutes of South Carolina.

⁷ The ius suffragii is not involved, since no law seems to prohibit a denizen from voting.

BOOK REVIEWS

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

OATES, WHITNEY J., and MURPHY, CHARLES T., Editors, Greek Literature in Translation: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1944). Pp. xvi+1072. \$5.00.

This large and comprehensive volume affords to the instructor engaged in the task of teaching Greek literature in translation another text for his consideration, and one which has distinctive features of its own. The long range of Greek letters has received judicious attention, and the confusion incident to wide variety of material and multiplicity of authors has been held in check by at least three initial decisions of the editors: first, the selection of entire books of the epic and complete plays of the dramatists, with a similar preference for substantial passages from the philosophers, historians, and orators; second, the use, in the majority of instances, of a single translator for each author; and third, the division of the entire book into ten sections.

A somewhat novel plan of presentation is involved in this tenfold division of admittedly confusing material. For that reason it is regrettable that the simple expedient of numbering each division in Roman or Arabic numerals, both in the index and in the text, was not followed. In fact the reader is almost compelled with the aid of the Preface to make that addition in pencil at the outset in order to appreciate the intention of the editors and its fulfilment. The ten divisions are as follows: 1. Homer; 2. Tragedy; 3. Comedy; 4. Philosophy; 5. History; 6. Oratory; 7. The Mime and Romance; 8. Satirical Dialogue; 9. Biography; 10. Poetry. The final division recapitulates the development of Greek poetry, with the exception of Homer and the dramatists, from the earliest to the latest periods, and there are appropriate subdivisions throughout.

In determining on this arrangement of material the editors were influenced by the desire to present the material as literature rather than as a series of historical documents, which they feared would be the conclusion of the inexperienced reader if the selections from a given historical period were grouped together. With all deference to that judgment and to the interesting attempt to introduce a new point of view, it may be questioned whether the fear was entirely justified and whether a still greater possibility of confusion has not been admitted. Thus, a final division devoted to poetry might lead an unwary student to conclude that Homer and the dramatists were not to be regarded as poets. That is perhaps caviling and the danger may not be great. A more serious matter is the fact that the subdivisions included within the final category of poetry necessarily introduce the student to Apollonius of Rhodes before Archilochus, to Theocritus before Sappho, and to Callimachus before Tyrtaeus. It is true that the careful attribution of dates and the brief, and usually good, subjective essays that precede each division, will do much to prevent misunderstanding. Yet one may still be forgiven for a cautious shaking of the head. The unselfconscious objectivity of those who devoted themselves in antiquity to the various forms of literature, and for that matter, the very self-consciousness of the Alexandrian period, which carried scholars back on trodden paths, afforded a certain reasonableness to the chronological division of Greek literature which is not easily abandoned.

These observations have been predicated on the assumption that the volume will be used primarily in the classroom rather than by the general reader. That is perhaps a sufficient answer to any disquietude that may be felt for the uninitiated. The editors have assembled a rich and abundant collection of material; the necessary guidance and criticism will rest with the instructor, which is as it should be. There has been meticulous care to provide that the book shall lack nothing that might be sought—witness the map as a frontispiece, the bibliography, the excellent Appendix prepared by C. G. Osgood and F. R. B. Godolphin, listing works of English literature that have been influenced by Greek authors,

and the extensive Glossary, which will serve among other things as a brief dictionary of mythological and dramatic characters.

This devotion to inclusiveness in a field so large, with the consequent necessity of abbreviation and compression at every point, has produced some observations in the explanatory essays which, while true, are motivated primarily by the selection of extracts with which the reader is presumably not yet familiar. The result it occasionally confusing. To cite one instance, the problem of the trilogy in general and the *Oresteia* in particular will not be noticeably clarified by the following chiastic sentence, if I understand is correctly (p. 136): "Among his (Aeschylus') thirteen victorious dramas is the *Oresteia*, the first and third plays of which are the *Agamemnon* and the *Eumenides*, his last play and his masterpiece." The leavening hand of the sympathetic instructor is needed to guide the student through the abundance and the compression of the offering.

The decision to select passages of considerable length rather than to pick brief extracts has made it possible to include twelve complete books of Homer, nine dramas, and several dialogues of Plato. With this intention in mind it was undoubtedly wise to use the translation of a single scholar for each Greek author, for to attempt to emphasize the essential unity of the ancient writer and at the same time to indicate the varying moods in which his work has been interpreted by different schools of English criticism or literature would be indefensible. On the other hand a philosophy of selection which results in the inclusion of numerous brief extracts from the same poet, has very properly been presented in other anthologies through the renderings of a variety of translators.

It is pleasant to have the opportunity to read Professor Murphy's spirited translation of Aristophanes' Lysistrata as well as his rendering of some shorter poems. There will be little reason to find fault with the translations that have been chosen throughout. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are given in the standard prose versions of Lang, Leaf, and Myers, and Butcher and Lang, respectively; the tragic dramatists have been translated by Paul Elmer More, Mors-

head, Jebb, and Gilbert Murray; Plato, by Jowett; and Aristotle, by Ross and Bywater. The versions of Bowra, Higham, and Edmonds have been extensively used for the Lyric Poets. These are characteristic of the choices that have been made.

Finally, the publication of the present volume may be taken as the occasion to make one or two observations on the teaching of classical literature through English translations, for it is to the increasing emphasis on that tendency that this and other books of a similar nature owe their origin. Lovers of the classics, vividly aware of the fact that the gifted peoples of antiquity passed through every ultimate social, political, and aesthetic experience, and that we have in their extant documents a superb inheritance for the guidance of our own society, will continue to foster the study of the Greek and Latin languages with increased ardor, for without a continuing nucleus of scholars acquainted with the original texts the study of Greece and Rome through translations will quickly become arid and depressing. It would not be possible to emphasize too strongly the value of a continued study of Greek and Latin in American schools and colleges.

At the same time, if the wisdom of classical antiquity is to have a significant place in the humanistic studies of American colleges and universities after the war (and it would be difficult to imagine a more steadying and constructive influence), the classics in translation must be presented by classicists with enthusiasm and conviction. Perhaps we may take comfort from the reflection that the concept of the "humanities" as a discipline of study is Roman rather than Greek, and that it was Cicero more than any other man who made possible the extension of the mellow wisdom of Hellas through the Latin tongue. We share in the trusteeship of the English language, with a literary and poetic tradition not less noble than the language of Cicero. It is well that it too should be made to serve as a vehicle for the transmission of a culture and a way of life which has a message larger than any single language.

The present volume is to be welcomed as a further contribution to the expanding study of the classics in modern society.

H. N. COUCH

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Persson, Axel W., The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times: Berkeley, University of California Press (1942). Pp. 189, 29 figures on plates, 29 figures in text. \$2.00.

This book comprises the Sather Classical Lectures delivered by the famous Swedish archaeologist and classicist, of the University of Uppsala, in 1940–1941. Professor Persson's scientific excavations at Asine and Dendra (Mideia) and his scholarly publications mark him as one of the greatest scholars in the field of "prehistoric" Greece. And this recent work, which embraces such a wealth of material in comparatively few pages, will augment his reputation and become a sine qua non for anyone interested in Hellenic religion.

At the start the author gives as a background for his study, that basic, widely diffused culture which he calls Afrasian. After a primary separation from this more or less uniform culture, which extended from Italy eastward, the various cultures developed and eventually formed new connections with each other. It is against this general background of the Near East that the "pre-Greek" (that is, pre-classical) religion must be viewed. The Introductory chapter is entitled "Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Classical Myth" (pp. 5–24). Persson uses the old term Minoan-Mycenaean because of the difficulty of separating the purely Minoan from the Helladic, but he emphasizes the term Minoan.

The chief characteristics of the religion of Crete in the Bronze Age are the cults of the Great Goddess and the Boy God, both associated with fertility and vegetation, and the cults of the tree and the stone (baetyl), which are associated with the same deities or natural phenomena. The author takes as his point of departure for his studies the Glaucus myth, which he thinks has a significance which has escaped most scholars. Glaucus, the son of Minos and Pasiphae, died from falling into a pithos of honey, and is eventually restored to life. This myth in its various forms is discussed, and the subject of the association of honey with funerals and comparative burial customs is presented. The Glaucus myth originated in the Bronze Age, and Persson further believes that the dead boy who was mourned and restored to life and the tree and life-giving plant

and serpent all appear as different elements derived from an ancient vegetational religion (p. 23). Other points connect this myth with known details from Minoan religion.

In chapter II, "Minoan-Mycenaean Signet Rings and the Vegetational Cycle" (pp. 25–87), twenty-eight gold rings are described and their scenes interpreted. These rings—they afford a "textbook" on this pre-Classical religion—are well illustrated on ten plates at the back of the book (but before the Index). They have come from Cnossus, Phaestus, Mycenae, Tiryns, Vapheio, and other Bronze-Age sites. Attention is called to the fact that the scenes on these gold rings are copies in miniature of at least the main features in fresco paintings. The rings are thought to have served a practical purpose, and probably the impression was the "desired end result of the artistic engraving" (p. 30). As in the case of the Linear B script, the direction preferred is from left to right.

In the interpretation of the scenes, the gold rings are classifieed in three groups: I. Vegetation Cycle: Winter (Rings 1-6); II. Vegetation Cycle: Spring (Rings 7-19); III. Vegetation Cycle: Summer and Harvest-time (Rings 20-28). The Twenty-eight reproductions are supplemented by figures 5-20 in the text. Accompanying the detailed description and conjectured interpretation are parallels taken from Oriental, that is, Mesopotamian and Anatolian, cylinder seals and comparative material from classical and modern Hellas. All the scenes on the gold rings are associated with the vegetation cycle, according to Persson's interpretation.

Chapter III, "Death and Resurrection—Offerings and Festivals" (pp. 88–104), is devoted to a summary of the foregoing evidence from these "basic texts" on the gold rings. Here one will find discussed such subjects as the figure-eight shield, the sacral knot, the bull games, and other scenes and symbols occurring on the gold rings. The so-called "Ring of Minos," No. 29, is discussed in detail. It is an impressive ring in appearance and of quite an erudite character, in the opinion of the reviewer. Persson does not declare it to be unauthentic, but he does remind us that it was not found in the dig at Cnossus but was brought to Sir Arthur Evans by a peasant, and that it was made by a skilled artist who did make some slips. This note of suspicion is, however, the reaction of the

reviewer, for the author does not really suggest that the ring is "modern Minoan."

Professor Persson does, however, reject the "Ring of Nestor" and the Thisbe treasure. Several scholars have doubted the authenticity of these objects but for obvious reasons they have been reluctant to declare them forgeries until this year. By stating this verdict in print, Persson has performed a good service, for these rings were just too interesting.

Chapter IV is entitled "Minoan-Mycenaean Religion Compared with the Religions of Asia Minor, Babylonia, and Egypt" (pp. 105–124). Here the author presents the contributive light shed by contemporary religious practices of these neighboring cultures in the Near East. The myths and cults associated with Cybele, Agdistis, Attis, Adonis, Osiris, Isis, Ishtar, and others are discussed with the view of enabling us better to interpret and understand the fundamental elements of the Vegetation Cycle of the "pre-Greek" religion. The great Mother Goddess in Crete is seen to be a universal deity from the beginning, the goddess of nature herself. With her is regularly associated the Boy God, who is a representative of the yearly vegetation, especially in connection with agriculture.

From these two deities there developed a number of deities whom one meets in the later Hellenic myths. Many of these developed from invocatory names which were used originally in connection with the two major deities just mentioned. This idea of derivation from epiklesis and other related topics are treated in Chapter V, "Minoan-Mycenaean Survivals in the Greek Religion of Classical Times" (pp. 125-152). Ariadne, Britomartis, Dictynna, Aphaia, Aphrodite, Rhea, Pasiphae, Europa, Elithyia, and Artemis are all discussed and shown to be offshoots of the Great Mother Goddess. Considerable space is given to Artemis, and the Ephesian Artemis in particular. Even Helen is admitted to this group. As derivatives from the Boy God of vegetation, attention is given to Hyacinthus, Erichthonius, Eros, and the boy Zeus, child of Rhea. It is gratifying to find someone still believing in the theory of "faded gods" and that Hyacinthus and Helen have become "degraded" to the status of hero and heroine respectively in the myths and legends of Hellas.

The last chapter (VI. "The Vegetation Cycle and the Nordic Religion of the Bronze Age—Summary," pp. 153–167) is concerned with a comparative study of nature- and vegetation-cults of the Aegean and Near East with those of Scandinavia (as evidenced, inter alia, by rock-carvings in Sweden). Here, as in the case of the gold rings, one may wonder if the scenes adduced are analogous. In the interpretation of scenes one easily becomes subjective. In some cases in primitive society rites and practices may be similar to, but have originated quite independently of, like practices elsewhere. However, if domesticated cereals spread from Mesopotamia to the rest of the world and if certain agricultural terms are common to North and South European languages, it is quite possible for religious practices or concepts to spread to the same places. Of interest is a brief but rather comprehensive treatment of primitive man and his early religious practices (pp. 156–163).

The last five pages are devoted to a succinct summary of all that has gone before. Persson emphasizes the importance of the influences from Egypt and the Orient (Near East), which must be considered by anyone who wishes to attain an understanding of the Minoan-Mycenaean culture as well as that of the later Hellenic and even Hellenistic periods. To epitomize the general thesis of this study, one may best quote Professor Persson's own words: "Every great culture is a mixed culture which transmutes through its own alchemy the baser metals of former ages" (p. 164).

This book is truly an important contribution in the field of Greek Religion. To be sure, some will take exception to some identification of detail or figure, to some interpretation of a scence, but on the whole Professor Persson's conclusions will meet with general agreement. By its very nature a study of ancient cult and myth is bound to be largely subjective, and it is a tribute to the author that he has produced such a clear, rational picture of the early religion of the peoples of the Aegean area in the Bronze Age, a religion which was destined to have widespread influence on the subsequent Classical Greek religion and to survive in some features even down into modern times. This work will have to be consulted by every serious student of Greek Religion but may also be recommended to the casual reader interested in early religions.

J. PENROSE HARLAND

HINTS FOR TEACHERS

[Edited by Grace L. Beede, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of classics, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Get Acquainted with the Gods: A Cultural Unit for Latin II1

The following cultural unit for second-year classes of Latin was planned for use in observing Latin week.

AIMS:

- 1. Appreciation of Latin influences in present-day American life.
- Increased understanding of language, literature, and art through knowledge of mythology.
- 3. Stimulation of interest in the study of Latin among the student body as a whole.

INTRODUCTION:

Until the Romans came into contact with the art and literature of the Greeks, they did not have any definitely personified gods of their own. Although they were religious, they lacked imagination; and their gods, before they took over those of the Greeks, were vague Powers which they called Numina, and which were supposed to look after the practical needs of their worshipers. Under the influence of the Greeks, however, the ancient Roman deities were changed to resemble the corresponding Greek gods and were considered to be the same. Most of these Greek gods were given Roman names. It is the purpose of this unit to observe how the names of these pagan gods of twenty centuries ago persist to

¹ This paper was written by Mrs. Judge for Professor Laura B. Johnson, of the Modern Language Department of the University of Wisconsin, in a Methods class for all languages.

this day in many aspects of American life. Scarcely a day goes by in which the average American does not have some contact, direct or indirect, with the mythology of ancient Rome.

ACTIVITIES:

The teacher has placed on the bulletin board pictures of famous statues of the Olympian gods, ancient Roman temples, and any available reproductions of classic mythological subjects.

By asking what names of Roman gods the students know, and giving occasional hints, the teacher can elicit and copy on the board a list of twenty to thirty mythological names. These are associated with the pictures as far as possible, and students are asked to tell what each is god of. These brief identifications are written opposite the names of the deities; when no member of the class can supply the information, the space is left blank, and the class is told to look up the facts before the next meeting.

The teacher now asks whether anyone has ever seen any of these names outside of a Latin book. Some students recognize the names as the source of certain words in their vocabularies; others mention the use of the names in astronomy, chemistry, advertising, etc. At this point the class divides itself according to interest into committees to investigate the importance of mythology in general vocabulary, science, business, geographical names, literature, and art. A date is set, about two weeks later, on which these committees will present their completed reports to the class. These reports are to be illustrated by whatever means the committee considers most effective. Charts, posters, maps, even dramatizations are often employed. Twenty minutes of class time, two or three times a week, is allowed for committee work in preparing materials which committee members have collected outside of class.

Each student selects one god, hero, or other mythological figure to look up and report on orally in class. As these reports are given, the rest of the class takes notes, since all are held responsible for information secured in this way. Each report must include at least one myth related to the subject of the report.

After the individual reports have been given, three devices are

used to help fix the names and stories in the pupils' memories. A guessing game, "Who am I?," for which each pupil chooses a character and prepares in a laboratory class period four or five short Latin sentences describing it, is fun. Very brief descriptive titles in both Latin and English are prepared for the bulletin-board pictures, which are to be a part of the Latin Week exhibit. A mimeographed sheet of twenty or twenty-five incomplete statements is prepared, the blanks of which are to be filled by the appropriate mythological name; e.g., "Roy Rogers rides like a ——." These statements are obtained by having each student submit a half dozen that he thinks are interesting or catchy. Trifling prizes for the winners help secure interest.

When the committee reports have been given and the illustrative material studied and discussed, the following observation questions are given to the class:

- 1. In how many ways may your daily life bring you into contact with the civilization and culture of Rome?
- 2. What does this lead you to believe about the usefulness of studying Latin?
- 3. How do you explain the presence in America of so many Latin ideas and expressions, when Rome as a nation had fallen 1,000 years before America was discovered?
- 4. Why do advertisers, who have an unlimited choice of words, find it advantageous to give their product such names as Ajax tires, Venus foundation garments, Hercules stokers, etc?
- 5. Can you suggest any reasons why these names of ancient gods and mythical creatures are still alive and useful, even though nobody has believed in them for a thousand years?
- 6. Which of our contemporary American words and ideas are most likely to be still alive 2,000 years from now? Why do you think so?

As a grand finale, a banquet of the gods is held in whatever high school Olympus is available, with whatever variety of nectar and ambrosia the financial situation will permit.

All charts, posters, booklets, maps, pictures, and other illustrative material are used in the Latin Week exhibit.

JEAN D. JUDGE

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Latin Can Be Made Real1

As this war forces our geographical horizon to the bounds of the world, so we must be more aggressive in our intellectual effort to extend the social horizon of our people. We know that in every period of history is reflected a great accumulation of human experience. We know that without a knowledge of humanism man has no perspective. In an age of which science is the idol, we teachers of the language arts should strive to develop moral power, should strive to open a vista for our pupils by the study of other peoples. A knowledge of foreign language makes for such understanding, and certainly the wealth of foreign literatures can both instruct and entertain. In every great literature we see portraved every human motive. In Latin we read of patriotism and political conspiracy, of discipline and revolution, of beauty and degradation. From the Roman world law and order emerged. Rome is an ancestor of greatest influence upon us. Her ideals were dignitas, fortitudo, constantia.

My paper is concerned not with the Latin curriculum at York, which contains the prescribed essential grammar, vocabulary, and reading matter; but rather with the experience we have had in using Latin to create for our students a background which will give them greater social proficiency. The keynote to success in teaching, in my opinion, is to interest one's self in students and then make the subject a matter of thrilling reality. It must have importance and meaning. In response to my query, "Tom, what have you got out of two years of Latin?" my sophomore replied, "Well, I don't know, but I have really had a great time doing it." I think the answer is satisfactory.

One should teach with these unvarying ideas: that the students shall realize that Latin is a means of communication; that they shall learn to read Latin; and, if they wish, to write it and speak it. High-school students can acquire a surprisingly satisfactory acquaintance with Latin authors if they feel confident, and if they get satisfaction from their mastery. My enthusiasm for speaking

¹ The paper, "Latin for High-School Students," was presented April 22, 1943, at the 39th annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Chicago.

Latin comes and goes, but not a day passes but that we venture some pleasantries in Latin. There are students at York Community High School who would not hesitate to engage you in a Latin conversation and they would feel no inadequacy in their lack of idiom. They would be perfectly happy if you comprehended their meaning and answered in the same good spirit. Latin for them is surely a language, not a grammar, not a list of words.

A sophomore at York wrote the unit paper for the Roman period of Ancient History in Latin. A junior wrote the test for Book III of the Aeneid in Latin. Last year, when the advanced class was studying Cicero and Sallust in a critical period of American history, we found it most interesting to translate some of President Roosevelt's speeches into Latin. I have heard that translators for rebroadcasts find his speeches very easy to translate.

To illustrate, let me quote to you from his address from the White House on December 9, 1941:

It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war.

Over the hard road of the past months, we have at times met obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callousness. That is all past—and, I am sure, forgotten.

We are in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all this nation represents, will be safe for our children.

We are going to win this war and we are going to win the peace that follows. And in the dark hours of this day—and through the dark days that may be yet to come—we will know that the vast majority of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. For in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well—our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

In the programs of our Latin Club we use dramatizations as often as the students and I have time for rehearsals. Our production of Susan Paxson's "Roman Wedding" was one of the most satisfactory projects we have ever undertaken. The play is excellent. The event is historical, the lines are authentic, and the cast can be as large as the entire membership of the Club if one wishes. Our students have their own Roman costumes. In the production we were very much pleased with the students' Latin diction and their characterizations. We felt that those who heard

Terentia insist upon Tullia's marriage to Piso, because he was very rich, could realize the sameness of human motives. Our Auspex Nuptiarum and Pontifex Maximus gave especially pleasing performances. Whether the examination of viscera is of Etruscan origin, or of Carthaginian origin, or merely came from the East, we do recognize, in any case, that it was a potent influence upon life for a long period of time. At the wedding, the Auspex cut open a papier-mâché pigeon with astounding verisimilitude; both priests intoned their prayers beautifully. Upon being congratulated, one of these students replied, "Well, I ought to be good. I have served in the church for years." That was, I think, an interesting, if indirect, comment upon the stability of our mores.

Speaking of prophecies brings to mind the 1941 Vergil class. They were especially entertained by Sortes Vergilianae and for a period of time resorted to them nearly every day. On February 14 one girl cleverly used the theme for her valentines, which were double hearts with the sortes written on small scrolls and inserted between. Such an exercise of prophecy should certainly be an anchor of reason in a world which is always seeking the occult.

The Roman Banquet is the chief dramatization and tradition of our Latin Department. In the setting we try to recapture the charm of dinners in Italy. In dress, in menu, in service, in ritual, in entertainment, we re-live for an evening what we imagine was a golden age. From the moment the paterfamilias veils his head and invokes the patron of guests and hosts until the Vestal Virgins present a final symbolic tableau we follow the formulae of Horace, Martial, and Juvenal for pleasant dining. From the entry of the wild boar to the wreathing of the wine we indulge in a flight of fancy which identifies us with another age and another people.

In the third- and fourth-year courses it is our custom at York to use translations freely. On our library shelves are Loeb Library volumes of Catullus, Martial, Horace, Cicero, Caesar, and Ovid. I have given Loeb volumes to my students who have won superior rating in the Illinois Latin Tournament as a memento of our work together. A senior to whom I have given two, has added eight by his own earnings as a caddy.

An Italian boy chose, I thought quite appropriately, Lucretius' De Rerum Natura at the close of his junior year in Vergil. The

following year, when he had finished the Comprehensives, also successfully, he chose Ovid's Ars Amatoria. I had never read that until I read his copy, and I saw then that it was indeed a reward for four years' study of Latin. His was really the ability of a genius in Latin, but I have a teacher's natural anxiety. I said to him before the contest finals, "Aldo, some work in the grammar would do you no harm." He was slow in answering; then he smiled at me and said with great Latin gallantry, "But, Miss Ashton, I take Latin for relaxation."

In speaking of extending the students' horizon, I should like to acknowledge the contribution of some of the most delightful scholars of the Chicago area, who have been willing to come to our Club, to meet the students, to give them incentive, encouragement, and foresight, to go on. The students would want me to say, I am sure, that we are especially grateful to Father Mertz. Mr. Ullman has been just as gracious. Mr. Murley, Clark Kuebler, and George Craig Stewart have also come. It was a most interesting experience for our people to have Saul Weinberg bring his pictures and talk about his excavations at Corinth in the winter of 1939–40. Mr. Eric Schmidt, of the Oriental Institute, gave one of the juniors last year an afternoon of his time, entertained him in his home, and talked to him about archaeology as a life work. I am in a position to see the benefits of such generosity to young students.

In closing, I wish to bring to you the most recent project of our Latin Club. I am interested in the correlation of language and art.² The students and I arranged for our bulletin-board posters of the subjects mentioned in this Art Quiz. At the top of one is a colored print of Botticelli's "Birth of Venus"; at the head of another is Bernini's "Aeneas and Anchises." We have arranged in parallels pictures of the Parthenon and the Lincoln Memorial, the Erech-

² This activity grew out of Miss Ashton's interest in art and her hope of stimulating her students to want to know more. "In the schoolroom," she writes, "we have some plaster casts which I wanted them to recognize by name as well as by sight; we have a collection of prints that I wanted them to become familiar with; I wanted to tie up an interest in classical architecture with an interest in modern architecture. I drew the material from the Chicago area largely. Our bulletin-board material has continued to be interesting for several months for me, and for the students it was a pastime and hobby." G.L.B.

theum and the Museum of Science and Industry, the Pantheon and the Jefferson Memorial, etc.

I urged the students to bring pictures which they and their families had brought back from trips. Each member of the Latin Club took an assignment to get information about definite places and objects. We have availed ourselves of the slide collections of the Chicago Public Library and the Art Institute. This has been a pleasant pastime, and, I hope, may become some student's hobby. At least, it will make us all more aware of beauty.

Thus, with the best background we can provide, our students and we ourselves face another phase in the eternal conflict of barbarianism versus civilization. We fight the enemy with science, but we shall have to carry on civilization by the use of the cultural arts. Ours, then, is the heritage, and ours is the task, to promote understanding in a war-exhausted world. We should attempt to preserve the best that the ages have given us. The world is distraught; America is young and vigorous. We, especially, must give our students the best equipment that we can in linguistic tools, in attitudes, in experience, that they and we may be able to accept the challenge of the present day.

Lois Ashton

York Community High School, Elmhurst, Illinois

The Roman Navy Comes Through

The commentator on a radio news program gave a brief description of the "corvette," and mentioned the fact that this small ship, which is so effective in the present convoy system, may be of Roman origin. My curiosity, aroused by this statement, led me to the following information found in *Travel* magazine of January, 1943, in an interesting article on the "corvette," entitled "Watch Dogs of the High Seas." The author, Ida Treat, points out that the "corvette" may go back to the Roman *corbitae*. These were cargo ships carrying a *corbis*, "wicker basket of conical shape," at the masthead.

GERALDINE GARTLEIN

Central Junior High School, Elkhart, Indiana

CURRENT EVENTS

[Edited by George E. Lane, Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; John N. Hough, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; Russell M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest; Kevin Guinagh, Eastern State Teachers' College, Charleston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the Middle Western States. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth, and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of the latter date.]

Indiana-Hanover College

Among the relatively few institutions of higher learning to escape the blight which the war has cast upon classical studies is Hanover College. Dr. Mars M. Westington reports that, although the college enrolment has been drastically cut by the entry of so many men into the armed services, the number of students who are taking courses in classical languages and related subjects is abnormally high.

Not only do the Greek and Latin language courses continue to enjoy their pre-war popularity but in some cases the classes are numerically stronger than before. The offerings in classical civilization are attracting approximately as many students as when the total college enrolment was at its pre-war level. The course in Greek and Latin derivatives, which in the past has been a perennial favorite, is today more popular than ever.

It is gratifying to know that Hanover has been able to maintain in war the strong classical tradition which she established in peace. The promise of a still brighter future lies in the fact that it is several years since so many members of the Freshman class have chosen the classics as their field of major interest.

Mississippi-Alfred William Milden

Alfred William Milden (University of Toronto, A.B., 1888; Johns Hopkins, Ph.D., 1899) died after a brief illness in Oxford, Mississippi, on February 16, 1944, at the age of seventy-five. After serving as Professor of Latin and Greek at Emory and Henry College from 1900 to 1910, he came to the University of

Mississippi as Professor of Greek, where he was also Dean of the College of Liberal Arts from 1920 to 1936. He was appointed head of the Department of Classics at the University of Mississippi in 1937 after the death of Alexander Lee Bondurant and served in that capacity until his recent illness. He contributed numerous articles and reviews to classical journals, and was an active member of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. He was a devoted teacher. His students valued his gentle dignity and humor, and the fresh enthusiasm which he ever carried to his classes. He was a ready speaker and expressed himself with a grace acquired through long years of ardent study of the classics.

EVELYN LEE WAY

University of Mississippi

New York-Metropolitan Museum of Art

Those of our readers who live in or near New York will doubtless be glad to learn that the special exhibit of the mosaics of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople will be open until Friday, June 30. This exhibit consists of reproductions "showing the mosaics of the Imperial Byzantine church at Istanbul uncovered by the Byzantine Institute of America with the co-operation of the Turkish Government.

On April 16 "Greek Paintings from Archaic to Graeco-Roman Times" will be on display. These comprise "Egyptian, Cretan, Greek, and Roman murals, gravestones, vases, panels, and mosaics in an exhibition tracing the evolution of pictorial representation." This latter exhibit will remain open indefinitely.

Rhode Island-Brown University

THE AMATEURS OF ANCIENT GREECE

The members of the Classical Department of Brown University have organized a group who are known as the Amateurs of Ancient Greece and who now number more than four hundred and fifty members. An invitation was extended very widely to the other departments in the University, to high-school teachers of the city, and to such business and professional families of Providence as were thought likely to be interested. Prospective members were assured that their association with the group would involve neither the payment of dues, contributions of money, nor executive or administrative duties of any kind. The specific purpose of the organization has been to secure the support of a body of laymen in the city for the lectures and classical projects that have been arranged, usually in collaboration with the Providence Archaeological Society. Several of the meetings have been held at the home of Professor and Mrs. C. A. Robinson, Jr., and a brief social gathering at the same place has followed the other lectures. Sunday afternoon has been found to be a popular time for the meetings.

In asking the support of the public a more general intention of the Classical

Department was also stressed. At a time when the war is so often taken as the justification for the abandonment or neglect of the things of the spirit, it was felt that no apology was needed in seeking to unite for the furtherance of those permanent values that have become a part of our culture. Pericles was able to say of himself and his fellow Athenians when they, too, were engaged in a great war: "We are lovers of beauty without extravagance and we cultivate wisdom without weakness." It was in that spirit that the invitation to join the Amateurs of Ancient Greece was extended. The response has been enthusiastic and widespread.

The program during the present academic year has included five meetings, although the first was held on October 4, 1943, to inaugurate the Clothing Campaign for the Greek War Relief Association before the Amateurs as a body actually came into existence. At this first meeting Professor Kenneth J. Conant, of Harvard University, gave an illustrated lecture on "Medieval Churches in Greece." The meeting was jointly sponsored by the Providence Archaeological Society, the Greek Community of Providence, and the Classical Department of Brown University. In addition to the lecture by Professor Conant, the Rev. Peter Mihailides, pastor of the Greek Orthodox Church, offered the invocation in Greek, the American and Greek national anthems were sung, the latter as a solo by Miss Effie Golousios, Lieut. Richard Stillwell, former Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, brought greetings, Professor Herbert N. Couch, Chairman of the Clothing Campaign, spoke briefly of that project, and the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Arthur L. Washburn, Chaplain of Brown University. Professor C. A. Robinson, Jr., presided.

At the second meeting, on November 28, 1943, Professor Herbert N. Couch translated from the Greek poets. The third meeting, on December 6, 1943, was held in conjunction with the Providence Archaeological Society, and Professor William S. Ferguson, of Harvard University, spoke on "Some Aspects of Athenian Religion." On January 30, 1944, the fourth meeting was held, with Professor Harcourt Brown, of the Division of Modern Languages of Brown University, speaking on the somewhat startling topic, "The Curse of Classicism." But even the most ardent Hellenist was satisfied with his deep and sincere tribute to ancient Greece. The final meeting for the present academic year was held on March 9, 1944, in association with the Providence Archaeological Society and the Department of Art of Brown University. It was planned in connection with the meetings of the New England Renaissance Conference. Professor Jakob Rosenberg, of Harvard University, delivered an illustrated lecture on Albrecht Dürer.

Plans are already being made for an active season during the forthcoming academic year. If any readers of the Classical Journal are interested in seeing the mimeographed material that was sent out at the time the group was organized, copies may be secured from Professor H. N. Couch, Brown University, Providence, R. I.

Uncle Dudley

We have had occasion more than once in the past to call the attention of our readers to editorials favorable to the classics appearing in the Boston Globe under the name of "Uncle Dudley." The editorial to which we wish now to refer, and from which we wish to reprint substantial parts, with the kind permission of the original publishers, appeared on the editorial page of the Globe for March 2, and is entitled "The Golden Milestone."

The writer begins by inviting his readers to join the "Virgil Society," of England, stating:

Its appeal "is not to the professional student; it is to all who are anxious to preserve the tradition which the study of Virgil represents, and to honour quality rather than numbers."

They have chosen well. For two thousand years, from his century to our own, Virgil is the poet who has been most studied and loved; he is the witness to the continuity of our civilization; it would be difficult to name a more civilizing influence; and they could hardly have found a figure more symbolic. Nietzsche, who could generally be counted on to find a disagreeable way of saying an agreeable thing, called Virgil "prae-existent christlich," a Christian born out of due time, and certainly that poet's humane sympathies (his "Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt" remains untranslatable); his pity for women, his foreglimpse of modern romantic love, and his common man's realization that a man cannot be human who has "no capacity for tragedy" were new in the poetry of the ancient world. Justice, mercy, kindness had been there before and as far back as Homer; what was new was the tender heart. . . .

Virgil's epic was an act of faith. He would create a poem out of the early legends of Rome to which men of good will could rally. After having worked on his "Aeneid"

eleven years he died, not having been able to give it the final touches.

Virgil's poetry has survived [the Roman] empire by fifteen centuries. . . . Standing at the Golden Milestone of imperial Rome, with Greece behind him and mediaeval and modern Europe before him, he is one of the sires of the humane spirit so far as it survives today. He brought home to the people of his time that they were the heirs of a great tradition; that a people with a great past is a people with great responsibilities which should look to a great future. In the year 19 B. C. it was a poet who gave the ancient world what ours most needs, a new creative impulse, the spiritual force that can bind together a greater society.

Indeed, the classicists of America are deeply indebted to "Uncle Dudley" and do not see why they shouldn't tell him so.

¹ For the corresponding American Vergilian Society cf. Classical Journal, XXXIV (1938–39), 195; 379. Interested Americans would probably prefer to join their own society rather than the English.